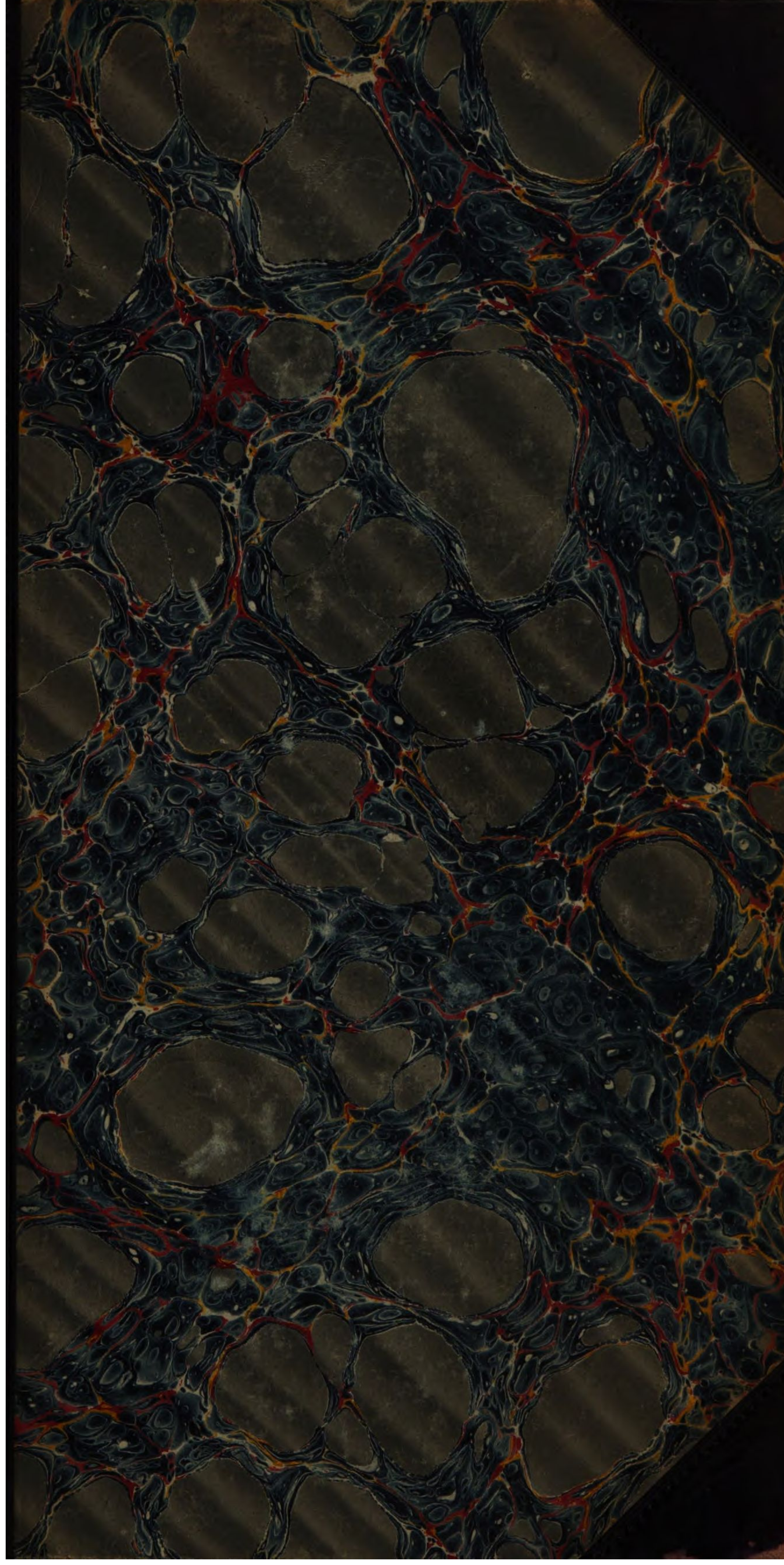




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HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

QUAKERS

ENLARGED WITH SEVERAL PERSONAL AND OTHER

NOTES ORIGINALLY IN THE

AND ALSO TRANSLATED BY HENRY

BY WILLIAM SEWELL

THE SEVEN EDITION

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

LONDON

BARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH STREET

MDCCLXXIV.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS
OF THE
CHRISTIAN PEOPLE
CALLED
QUAKERS.

INTERMIXED WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH,
AND ALSO TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH.

BY WILLIAM SEWEL.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

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VOL. I.

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MDCCCXXXIV.

GEORGE,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND, &c.

PRINCE ELECTOR OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG, &c.

GREAT AND MIGHTY PRINCE,

As there is a great variety in the inclinations of men in general, so it is particularly remarkable in those who addict themselves to the studies of nature and human literature: for some with great eagerness inquire into the operations of nature, and the natural causes of things; some endeavour to dig up antiquities from the dark, by searching out the signification of statues, the inscriptions of antique stones, and of old and almost worn-out medals; and others peruse with unwearied diligence, the histories both of modern and ancient times; and not without good cause; for history is not unjustly called the looking-glass of human life; not only because it sheweth unto us matters of fact, which are either commendable or reprobable, and we behold therein that which is past, as if it were present; but also because from things which have already happened we may learn what is best for us to do, and what we ought to avoid. And therefore great benefit may be reaped

LONDON:

JOSEPH RICKERBY, PRINTER,
SHERBOURN LANE.

TO

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from the reading of histories, besides the pleasure which the variety of transactions affords to our senses, when matters are accompanied with singular circumstances, and unexpected events. Now, since the reading of historical treatises was one of the most pleasant diversions of my youth, this drew me, when I attained to some maturity of age, to inquire after many things that had happened in thy kingdoms and dominions, which by many were almost forgotten. And having gathered great store of very remarkable cases, which I thought worthy to be kept upon record, and not buried in oblivion, I was induced to compose an history, which contains such rare occurrences, and unusual matters as, I believe, are not easily paralleled. And after a long and difficult labour, having at length finished the work, so far as to expose it to public view; and then thinking to whom I should dedicate it, it presently came into my mind, that this could not be done more suitably to any, than to the king of these countries, which are the chief theatre of this history; and the rather, because therein is described the rise of a people, who are no small part of his faithful subjects, (for so I may safely call them,) since they never, how much soever wronged and oppressed, offered any resistance to the government; and when for conscience-sake they could not comply with what was required of them, by patient suffering they showed their subjection and obedience to the higher power. Nay, when opportunity was offered to revenge themselves of their enemies, even then they would not, but left it to the Lord; and thus at all times they behaved themselves like a peaceable people.

And since I have also had occasion in this history to mention some illustrious branches of thy royal family;

to whom could I with more justice offer this work, than to thee, O king of Great Britain, who, having already made thyself gloriously renowned by thy eminent clemency, bestowed even upon such who by their unnatural rebellion had forfeited it, didst rather choose to establish thy throne thereby, than by severity; and thus effectually to observe this lesson of the wisest of kings, "Mercy and truth preserve the king, and his throne is upholden by mercy?"

All this hath emboldened me, great king, to dedicate this work to thee, with due regard, and in a way of humble address to approach thy royal presence. Be pleased, therefore, according to thy wonted goodness, to excuse this modest freedom; and to know, that though it be offered by a foreigner, yet it proceeds from him who heartily wisheth that God may vouchsafe thee long to reign in peace and tranquillity over thy subjects; and when removed hence from an earthly and perishing diadem, to grant thee an heavenly and incorruptible crown of glory: which is the unfeigned desire of,

Great and mighty Prince,

Thy affectionate and sincere well-wisher,

WILLIAM SEWEL.

to whom could I with more justice offer this work than to thee, O King of Great Britain, who, having already made thyself gloriously renowned by thy eminent clemency, bestowed even upon such who by their unassisted wickedness had forfeited it, didst rather choose to establish the throne of Liberty and Justice; and thus to observe this lesson of the wisest of Kings: "Glory and truth preserve the King, and life the people."

After a labour of more than five-and-twenty years, this history at length appears in public view; to the compiling of which I was induced from the consideration that the rise and increase of that religious society, which in this work I have given a circumstantial account of, is indeed so rare and wonderful a thing, that I think few will be met with in modern histories, which in the like respect may be compared therewith; because the Quakers, so called, are become a great people, under such heavy oppression as is hereinafter mentioned; and that not by any human power, or making resistance, but merely by an harmless deportment, and the exercising of patience; for bearing arms and resisting the wicked by fighting, they always have counted unlawful, and contrary to the doctrine of our Saviour. Thus they who had no king, prince, nor potentate to protect them; and who in the beginning had not among themselves any man of renown or literature, but relying on their integrity, and trusting to God alone; have at length triumphed over the malice of their opposers, by suffering (which rose to that degree that it was at the expense of the lives of many of them) under violent oppression from high and low, and the opposition of learned and unlearned.

All this, after much search, being found out by assiduous diligence, appeared so wonderful to me, that I re-

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solved to give a relation thereof, notwithstanding the great labour I soon perceived this work required. To this may be added, that when I considered that several authors, both Germans and others, had published books and accounts of this people stuffed with gross untruths, I was the more spurred on thereby to set down in due order, for my countrymen's sake, what I knew of the matter; for it seems indeed to be of small advantage that when any thing is well known to us, we keep that knowledge only to ourselves,* without imparting it to others.

Now how difficult soever I found it, yet having made a beginning I resolved to go on; and so I did, though often stopped by several accidents, and also other work: for during this labour I have not only translated several bulky books into Dutch, besides Kennet's Antiquities of Rome, but also composed several treatises of moment, and among these my great Dictionary, English and Low Dutch. And notwithstanding all these impediments, I continually resumed this work by intervals so often, that I have written it almost thrice, to make it complete: for doubting of some things and finding others defective, it made me write to England for better information; which having gotten at length, after much pains and long waiting, I was several times, obliged to lay aside part of my former description and make a new one; which happened so often that had I not been supported by an unwearied application, the difficulty of the labour, which hath been much greater in Holland, than if I had composed the work in England, would have made me give it over. But I went on, and so finished this history in that form as it now appears.

And I am not without thoughts, that I was prepared

* Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.—*Pers. Sat. I.*

to be instrumental for such a work as this : for several remarkable things I have made use of, I had noted down before ever I thought of composing such a history ; and even in my young years, when I was in England, I copied out from manuscripts several pieces and letters, which are inserted in this history, it may be hardly to be found elsewhere.

At the first sight perhaps some will be ready to think that I might have superseded this labour, since the learned world hath long ago seen a book written in Latin by Gerard Croese, with the title of *Historia Quakeriana*. But be it known to the reader, that though the author got the chief contents thereof from me, yet that relation which he gives of the rise and progress of the Quakers, is very imperfect and defective ; and that he presumed to relate things of which he had no true knowledge. I gave him indeed many things in writing, but not all I had collected ; besides having since that time written to my acquaintance in England, I got narratives of many remarkable occurrences given forth in print there, and many authentic pieces in manuscript. Now though this collection was, as Ovid called the chaos, '*Rudis indigestaque moles*,' 'a rude and undigested heap ;' yet from thence, and from my own collection of matters known to me, I have compiled the greatest part of this history : but as to the life and transactions of G. Fox, who is largely treated of in this work, I took them chiefly from his journal ; and the greatest part of other occurrences, or the lives and transactions of others, I have taken from the works of deceased authors ; and out of abundance of small books published in print not long after the things happened and not contradicted, by whatever I could learn.

Thus I have endeavoured to assert nothing but what I

had good authority for ; which, in regard of some circumstances, would have been yet far more difficult after the expiration of some years : for now time gave opportunity to be informed of many things, which some ancient people had yet remembrance of, and which after their decease perhaps would have been buried in oblivion.

I cannot well omit here publicly to acknowledge the signal kindness and diligence of my well-beloved and much esteemed friend Theodore Eccleston, of London, who hath furnished me with abundance of materials, not only very useful, but also absolutely necessary for the compiling of this work : from him I had intelligence on that account, and have exchanged a multitude of letters. And thus by a long-continued correspondence I came to be acquainted with many things and circumstances, which after some years might have been more difficult to obtain.

Add to this, that I have described several things well known to me, which few besides myself within these thirty or forty years had better knowledge of. I have also mentioned several remarkable cases, which I noted down from the mouths of credible persons, who have been dead many years, and thought not that at any time I should have published them in print. In the meanwhile I took account of what seemed to me worthy to be left upon record, and collected a great quantity of books, wherein many occurrences mentioned in this history were related. Of such kind of relations and accounts I have made use of, without taking from thence all that was remarkable : for it hath not been for want of matter that this history hath not run out further, since I could have made it thrice as big, if I had been minded so to do. But as I was unwilling to extend my work any further than my strength and health in all probability should permit, so

I would not glut my reader with many things of one and the same nature ; but have endeavoured by variety of matter, to quicken his appetite ; and therefore have intermixed the serious part sometimes with a facetious accident.

Yet I have not thought myself bound to take notice of every odd case that may have happened among the Quakers, so called : for there have conversed among them such who acted some particular things that were not approved of by those of that society. And if any one swayed by human passion, commits any excess which is disapproved of by his fellow-members of the church, such an act may not be duly imputed to the people he makes profession with. Among such particulars may be reckoned the case of one Hester Biddle, which Croese makes mention of about the end of his history. For though it was told him from the relation she gave of it at Amsterdam, not with any intention that he should publish it, yet this was a particular case which she herself must be responsible for : since experience hath taught that imagination sometimes works so powerfully on the mind, that one thinks himself obliged to do a thing which were better left undone.

Yet for all that, it is true, that men fearing God, may mistake, and through ignorance do something, which others not without reason might judge not commendable. Also it may happen that some again, from a godly fear, have omitted what others, no less pious, would not have scrupled. And though some among the Quakers, in the beginning of their rise, for fear of transgressing Christ's command, "Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ," speaking to persons in authority, called them by the name of Friend ; yet others of the same persuasion have not therefore thought themselves

bound to refuse to magistrates their distinguishing titles of magistracy. Nay, if any, for some special reason, may not have given a full or direct answer to a query, yet others of the same society have not looked upon this as a pattern to imitate. For the most eminent valiants among this people in the beginning, were not men of note or learning, though of great courage; insomuch that their immovable steadfastness sometimes so exasperated their enemies, that their fear of doing or omitting any thing which they judged would displease God, often hath been stamped with the odious denomination of stubbornness and stiffneckedness; but they have borne this patiently, believing that it was their duty to persevere immovably in minding their Christian profession, and in frequenting their religious assemblies. And that such a steadfastness was the duty of a Christian, seems also to have been the judgment of the authors of the Confession of faith of the reformed churches in the Netherlands, Art. xxviii, where it is said, that it is the office or duty of all believers, to separate themselves according to the word of God, from those that are not of the church; and to join to this congregation, in what place soever God hath placed them, though the magistrates and edicts of princes were against it, and that death or any corporeal punishment was annexed to it.

It is true, there have been such among the Quakers, who were exceeding bold in representing to their enemies their evil behaviour and deportment; but this hath been a peculiar talent of pious men, of whom examples are extant in the book of martyrs, viz. that some of them in very plain terms told their persecutors of their wickedness. Very remarkable in that respect is the speech of John Molleus, who, about the year 1653, being prisoner at Rome, without any dissimulation exposed to

public view the wicked lives of the cardinals and bishops, who were ordered by the pope to examine him. The like boldness appears also in the letter of Hans van Ovendam, to the magistrates of Ghent in Flanders, as may be seen in the Mirror of Martyrs of the Baptists; from whence it appears, that the Quakers have not been the only people who have told their persecutors very boldly of their wicked deportment and cruelty.

It cannot be denied that there have been at times among this society some people of an odd behaviour, who in process of time embraced strange opinions and perverse notions; but that is no new thing, since this hath happened also among those of other persuasions, though none of these would allow that this was the consequence or effect of their doctrine. We find in Sacred Writ, that even in the primitive Christian church there were apostates; either such as maintained strange doctrine, as the Nicolaitanes; or such who finding the strait way too narrow for them, left it, and like Demas, falling in love again with the world, entered into the broad way. And therefore it can now, no more than then, be argued from thence, that the exorbitancies to which some launched out, were the effects of the doctrine they forsook.

Since in this history some predictions are also mentioned, and that some biassed by prejudice will perhaps look upon them as frivolous, imagining that the Quakers pretend to have the spirit of prediction; I will answer to this, that though among thousands of them there may have been one that prophetically foretold a thing, which afterwards truly happened; yet others of that society presumed to have that gift no more than to have that of being a preacher; and all are not called to that work. There must be antecessors and leaders in the religious economy, as well as in the politic state: for if every one

not qualified should assume the office of governing, things would soon run into confusion. Now though some have had this false conceit, that to be able to predict future things was a quality the Quakers attributed to themselves, as proceeding from their doctrine, that Christians ought to be led by the Spirit of God; yet this is a very sinister and preposterous conceit; for what they say concerning the leading and guiding of the Spirit of God, is agreeable with the doctrine of the apostle, who saith, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." And this was also the doctrine of the first reformers. What must we think then of those who will not be led by this Spirit, but call this doctrine by the odious denomination of enthusiasm? The same apostle tells us also, "If any have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." And he also saith, "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal." But from thence it doth in no wise follow that the spirit of prophecy is given to every one; neither that although it might please God to reveal to one a thing which yet was to come, such an one therefore was endued with such a prophetic spirit, that he was able at any time to predict future things.

If this position be true, then those of other persuasions might also lay claim to that prerogative; because among them sometimes there have been pious men who predicted remarkable things, which afterwards really happened; as among the rest, James Usher, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, who foretold the rebellion in Ireland forty years before it came to pass; besides the intestine war and miseries that befel England, and other things that were fulfilled: which leads us not to reject as frivolous his prediction of the dreadful persecution that would fall upon all the Protestant churches by

Papists; for though one of his friends once objected to him, that since Great Britain and Ireland had already suffered so deeply, there was reason to hope that the judgments of God in respect of these kingdoms might have been past; yet he replied to it, 'Fool not yourselves with such hopes, for I tell you, all you have yet seen hath been but the beginning of sorrows, to what is yet to come upon the Protestant churches of Christ, who will ere long fall under a sharper persecution than ever yet hath been upon them. And therefore look you be not found in the outward court, but a worshipper in the temple before the altar: for Christ will measure all those that profess his name, and call themselves his people; and the outward worshippers he will leave out, to be trodden down by the Gentiles. The outward court is the formal Christian, whose religion lies in performing the outside duties of Christianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love, uniting them to Christ: and these God will leave to be trodden down and swept away by the Gentiles. But the worshippers within the temple and before the altar, are those who indeed worship God in Spirit and in truth; whose souls are made his temples, and he is honoured and adored in the most inward thoughts of their hearts; and they sacrifice their lusts and vile affections, yea, and their own wills to him; and these God will hide in the hollow of his hand, and under the shadow of his wings. And this shall be the great difference between this last, and all the other preceding persecutions; for in the former the most eminent and spiritual ministers and Christians did generally suffer most, and were most violently fallen upon; but in this last persecution these shall be preserved by God as a seed to partake of that glory which shall immediately follow and come upon the church, as soon as ever this storm

shall be over; for as it shall be the sharpest, so it shall be the shortest persecution of them all, and shall only take away the gross hypocrites and formal professors; but the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity be overpast. If any now-a-days should speak at this rate, it is credible that many who think themselves to be good Christians, would decry this as mere enthusiasm. But the said bishop is still in such great repute with the learned, and hath obtained such an high esteem by his writings, that his words are likely to be of more weight with many, than those of other pious men. And therefore I was willing to renew them, and revive his memory, if perhaps this might make some impression upon the minds of any: for this is a certain truth, that no outward performances will avail any, if they do not worship God in spirit and in truth; for such worshippers God seeks, according to what our Saviour himself said; besides, that "Not every one that saith to him, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven:" nay, when many in that day will say to him, "Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name?" He will say to them, "I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

As the many singular cases related in this history will afford no displeasing entertainment to curious readers, so they will be found also instructive; for we shall not only meet with instances of true piety and love to one's neighbour, and of saints triumphing on their death-beds, and also with remarkable examples of sinners truly penitent at the hour of death; but we may also find here abundance of proofs of a peaceable behaviour: for the Quakers, so called, have not plotted against the government, nor meddled with treasonable

practices or rebellions: and how much soever they were oppressed, yet they always were quiet, and never made any resistance; but with an harmless patience they have borne their most heavy oppressions and injuries, and so at length overcame: for to be subject to magistracy hath always been one of their principles; and that they were really dutiful subjects, they have showed at all times, by paying obedience to the higher power, in all they could do with a good conscience. And when any thing was required of them, which from a reverential respect to God they durst not do, or omit; they have showed their obedience by suffering, without making any resistance, or joining with others who were inclined thereto.

Now though many have made it their business to represent them in odious colours, and to write great untruths concerning them; nay, to fasten doctrines upon them which they never approved, and that not a few of the learned have contended against them with their pens; yet among these there have also been such, who though they never joined with, yet gave a good account and favourable testimony concerning them, as may be seen in Richard Claridge's answer to a book of Edward Cockson, page 266, and seq. And at Amsterdam in Holland, many years ago, a learned man published a book called, *Lucerna super Candelabrum*, wherein he very eminently defended the doctrine of the inward light; and this book was published in Dutch, and afterwards also into English, with the title of the *Light upon the Candlestick*; and since the name of William Ames, a zealous preacher among the Quakers, was placed upon the title, many have believed him to be the author of that book, because his doctrine of the divine and inward light was so effectually asserted therein. That he approved the

contents of the book I know; but I know also that it never proceeded from his pen. And many years afterwards it was published under the name of one Peter Balling as the author, though there were those who fathered it upon Adam Boreel, because it is found printed in Latin among his *Scripta Posthuma*. And this opinion is not altogether improbable, for among his works are found also some other writings that contain several positions asserted by the Quakers; besides, he and some other of the collegians, and among these also Dr. Galenus Abrahamson, were so effectually convinced of the doctrine preached by William Ames when he first came to Amsterdam, that they approved of it; though afterwards from a misapprehension they opposed it. Now if we presuppose that Adam Boreel was the author of the said Latin book, Peter Balling might be the translator thereof into Dutch; for that it was originally written in Latin seems to me very probable.

But however this be, it appears plainly, that the author would not be publicly known; for the title seemed designedly composed so that the readers should believe W. Ames to be the author of it, viz. *The Light on the Candlestick, serving for illustration of the principal matters in the book called, the Mysteries of the Kingdom of God, &c. against Galenus Abrahamson and his Assenters, treated of, and written by W. Ames.* And this name stood in capital letters underneath, in such a manner as the name of an author is usually placed upon a title; though the publisher meant no more but that W. Ames was the author of the book called, *The Mysteries of the Kingdom of God*. And there was no printer's name added to it, but only 'Printed for the author, 1662.'

Now though I cannot tell certainly who was the author, yet I have thought fit, since the said book is not

easily to be got in Latin, to insert it in the appendix of this history; from whence it may appear, as well as from the writings of some others, that there have been such as either commended the Quakers, or defended their doctrine, though they themselves never could resolve to join with them publicly.

But notwithstanding all this, there have been others who to render the deportment and carriage of the Quakers suspected and odious, have been ready to represent their honest behaviour and religious life as pharisaical righteousness; although Christ and his apostles earnestly recommended such a life. Pray, what mean these words of our Saviour, "Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," but that we ought to endeavour to the utmost of our power, to lead a virtuous and godly life? When those that heard the apostle Peter preach, were thereby pricked in their hearts, and said, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" he answered, "Repent." And at another time, "Repent, ye, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out." The apostle Paul saith, "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind." And the apostle Peter, agreeable to this, saith, "As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance; but as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation;" all which clearly implieth, that a Christian ought to be very strict and careful in his conversation; and of this judgment were also the first reformers: and that archbishop Tillotson was also of the same mind appears from many passages that are to be found in his sermons.

But though the Quakers have endeavoured to make

their life and conversation agree with their Christian profession, yet this hath raised envy, grudge, and malice against them: and among the clergy there have been such, who to render them odious, did not stick to represent them as disguised Papists, notwithstanding these were none of their meanest enemies. For, after a due reflection and consideration, it hath seemed to me, that when king Charles the Second was on the throne, the Romanists, and such among the church of England as favoured them, were the chief promoters of persecution. And these, to pursue their wicked ends, would not proceed according to law, in the trials of the imprisoned Quakers; but they continually strove to introduce an arbitrary power, and so from time to time they did not omit to prosecute the Quakers severely: thinking that when they were once suppressed, the other dissenters must fall of necessity, though they were not for non-resistance. But Providence acted very remarkably; for when a popish prince afterwards would introduce liberty of conscience, the eyes of the most moderate maintainers of the church of England came to be so opened, that in the reign of king William III. they promoted a general liberty of conscience, by which the people called Quakers at length obtained liberty to perform their public worship without molestation.

Thus far the limits of this history are extended; and being arrived there, I did not think myself bound to enlarge any further; what follows being no more than an overplus.

I have related nothing in this work but what I believed to be unquestionably true: for what seemed doubtful to me, I rather chose to pass by; having never been of so credulous a temper, as easily to take things on trust without due examination: for we often see that

high soaring imaginations make people believe things that are far from being true. But for all that, we ought not to reject as untrue every thing that appears strange or unusual; since experience convinceth us of the contrary, viz. that sometimes we have seen a thing which if we had not beheld with our own eyes, we could hardly have believed. Wherefore I would not reject as untrue what was extraordinary or unusual, when it was told me by credible persons, or confirmed by eye-witnesses. And therefore, though my reader may meet with some very singular occurrences, yet this is true, that I have endeavoured to the utmost to relate nothing but what after a nice inquiry seemed to me to be true, or at least very probable. And yet I have silently passed over some cases which I did not question to be true, lest any might think me too credulous.

As to the transactions of state affairs I have taken them mostly from the History of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars in England, written by Edward, earl of Clarendon, and from the Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow. Yet some few things relating to state affairs, that have not been mentioned by them, nor in any other public history that I know of, I thought worthy to be delivered to posterity by my pen.

For my style, I know it is but indifferent: I do not pretend to elegance in the English tongue; for being a foreigner, and never having been in England but about the space of ten months, and that near fifty years ago, it ought not to be expected that I should write English so well as Dutch, my native language. If therefore my pen hath sometimes been guilty of a Belgicism, I beg excuse of my reader. And since my absence hath hindered me from correcting the printer's mistakes, either in omissions or other errors, such faults I do not think

myself responsible for, because I have been fain to trust the oversight and correction of my work to others, who may have been more liable to let errors escape than myself should have been. This I hope will suffice to excuse me with discreet persons.

What the envious may judge of this work I little care for, well knowing that the most eminent authors have been exposed to envy, and been obnoxious to the censures of pedantic critics. Whatever any may think, this I am well assured of, that my chief scope hath been by the relation of many unusual occurrences, not only to delight my reader, but also to lead him to virtue. If I may be so happy as to have contributed thereto, I shall think my pains well rewarded; and if not, I shall have at least this satisfaction, that according to my ability I have endeavoured to be beneficial to others, and to edify my fellow-mortals in that which is good; which I cannot but think to be well-pleasing to God. And if I have performed any thing that is good, the honour and glory thereof belongs to him, who is the giver of all good gifts; and it is from Him alone I have received all my ability to do any good thing. Thus concluding, I wish the reader discretion, and an impartial judgment.

HISTORY, &c.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THAT the wonderful work of Reformation was small, and of very little account in its beginning, and yet hath been advanced with remarkable progress, will, I believe, be denied by none that have, with attention and due consideration, read the history of its first rise; since God, the beginner and author of this glorious work, proceeding by steps and degrees, used therein such singular wisdom and prudence, that every circumstance duly considered, instead of censuring any part thereof, we shall be obliged to cry out, Thou, O Lord, alone knowest the right times and seasons to open the eyes of the people, and to make them capable of thy truth!

If we look to the first beginnings, to go back no further than John Huss, we shall find, that though in many things he was considerably enlightened, yet he remained still in several gross errors; for although he had a clear sight of the vain doctrines of purgatory, praying to, and worshipping of images, &c. nevertheless it is reported of him, that he favoured the invocation of saints, the seven sacraments, auricular confession, and other tenets of the church of Rome; and yet Christian charity constrains us to believe (though we find Protestant writers who deny him the name of a martyr) that by his death, which he suffered in the flames at Constance in Germany, on the 6th of the month called July, in the year 1415, he was an acceptable sacrifice unto God: and with what a sedate and well-composed mind he suffered death, may be concluded from this, that seeing a country fellow very zealously carrying wood to burn him, he said, with a smiling countenance, 'O holy simplicity!' And after the fire was kindled, he sang with joy in the flames, his mind being firmly established

on God : for he had been faithful according to his knowledge, and had not hid his talent in the earth, but improved it, having shown himself a zealous promoter of that small illumination which God was pleased to grant him ; it being without question great enough in that grievous night of darkness, when idolatry had so universally blinded mankind, that, morally speaking, it would have been impossible for them to have understood the declaration of an entirely reformed religion ; whereas it is evident that the most sober and discreet people of that age were capable to understand the doctrine and sermons of that honest man.

To give a clearer prospect into this matter, let it be considered, that if a man had been kept shut up a long time in a dark prison, where he could neither behold the light of the sun or moon, and should have been let out on a sudden at clear noon-day, he would not only not be able to endure the bright daylight, but would also, if he strove to open his eyes with force, be endangered of losing his sight, and falling into a worse condition than he was in before ; whereas if he had been brought into the open air at the time of twilight, he would by degrees have learned to discern the objects, and come to an ability of beholding every thing in a clear day aright.

Agreeable to this, in the reigns of king Henry VIII. and the bloody queen Mary, the principal test in England was, whether a man owned the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament ; and he who denied this, was to be burned as an heretic. Also in the Netherlands, it was enough to bring a man to the stake if he confessed that he had been re-baptized. Inso-much that it seems the Lord did raise in those days zealous men chiefly to testify against the idolatry of the host, and the error of infant baptism, that so gradually he might break down the great structure of human inventions.

Now, how small soever the beginnings of this great work of Reformation were, yet it increased from time to time ; and oftentimes singular instances were seen of the workings of the power and Spirit of God.

In the year 1513, I find that one John Le Clerc, of Meaux in France, being at Metz in Lorraine, was filled with such zeal against idolatry, that he broke to pieces the images in a chapel, which the next day were to have been worshipped in a very solemn manner. And being taken prisoner for this fact, and cruelly tortured to death, he was so eminently strengthened, even to the amazement of the beholders, that in the height of the torments, being torn with red-hot pincers, he said, (from Psalm cxv.) “ Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men’s hands.”

Not less was the zeal of one Aymond à Vie, imprisoned in France about the year 1541, because he had preached the gospel undauntedly ; and though he had been advised to fly, yet he

would not be persuaded thereto, but said with an heroic mind, 'I would rather never have been born, than commit such a base act; for it is the duty of a good pastor not to fly from danger, but to stay in it, lest the sheep be scattered.' He was tortured cruelly to betray his fellow-believers; but no torment, how great soever, could extort the name of any from him; and he suffered death valiantly for the testimony of Jesus, feeling himself very powerfully strengthened by the Spirit of God, which worked so gloriously in the martyrs of those times, that those of Merindol in Provence said, 'The Holy Ghost is an infallible teacher, by whose inspiration all Christians receive the knowledge of truth: this Spirit dwells in them, he regenerates them to a new life, he slayeth the old man in them, and he makes them alive to every good work, consoling them in tribulations, and strengthening them in adversities,' &c.

And of the pious professors at Meaux, I find mentioned in the year 1546, that though a great number of men and women were led prisoners by but a few, they yet made no resistance, but showed themselves harmless, not sad with grief, but singing with joy.

Nay, so powerfully did God work in Gabriel Beraudin, who was executed at Chambéry in Savoy, in the year 1550, that after his tongue was cut off by the hangman, he spoke intelligibly to the people, and celebrated God's praise in a miraculous manner.

Claude Morier being burnt very cruelly at Lyons in France, wrote whilst in his prison, 'Let us pray our heavenly Father continually, that he create in us a clean heart, that he give us a new heart, that he guide our will by the leadings of his Spirit.'

Very remarkable is it also, that Godfried de Hammelle, a year after that, being imprisoned at Tournay in the Netherlands, and being told that the apostle in his Epistle to the Ephesians, had called marriage a sacrament, said in a letter, 'That though at first this had puzzled him, yet the Lord had not long left him in this difficulty, but put him in mind by his Spirit, that the word there was not sacrament, but mystery.' For the martyrs of those times did not stick to profess, with the primitive Christians, that the children of God must be led by his Spirit.

Peter Schryver, burnt at Lyons about the year 1552, wrote from prison, 'That he having heard God's pure word preached, believed it, because the Spirit of God gave him a testimony (or evidence) of it in his heart; and did so confirm it to him, that he could not question it in the least.' He also says in his letter, 'That once having prayed to God, he had been so refreshed by the virtue of his Spirit, and so strengthened, that though he sat in a dark, nasty place, yet he felt such consolation and joy, that overcame all sorrow and anguish.' Nay, said he, 'the least comfort and joy I feel now in my bonds, surpasseth all the joys

that ever I had in my life ; for now the Holy Ghost puts me in mind of those gracious promises that are made to those who suffer for his name's sake.' And being asked, how he knew that which he asserted to be the pure word of God, he answered, ' Because it did agree with the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, and that of Jesus Christ ; and that the Holy Ghost gave him a certain evidence thereof.' Concerning the indwelling of God's Spirit in man, he also speaks very notably in his letter to John Chambon, (whose wonderful conversion in prison was an eminent proof of the truth of his sayings,) telling him, ' That his heavenly Father was near him, and by his Spirit dwelt in his heart.'

That this was also the doctrine of John Calvin, appears from his letters to the said man and his fellow-prisoners, where he saith, ' Do not doubt but God will, in those things wherein he will use your service, give you that power by which the work in you being begun will be perfected, for that he hath promised to do : and we have many examples and instances of that excellent faith, by which we clearly know, that God never in any thing hath failed those who have been led and guided by his Spirit. Trust firmly, brethren, that when it is needful, you will become so strong and steadfast, that you shall not faint under any burden of temptations, how great and heavy soever. The fight is now at hand, to which the Holy Ghost exhorts us, not only that we should go, but even that with all alacrity of mind, we should run.' Many other excellent testimonies of eminent men of those times might be produced : and it also is very remarkable, that Peter Bergier, being prisoner at Lyons, in the year 1553, and afterwards suffering death, cried in the midst of the flames, ' I see the heavens opened.'

Now that the doctrine of being taught by the Spirit of God was generally received by the martyrs of those times, we learn from many of their writings. Denis Peloquin, burnt in the said year at Ville Franche, said in his confession, ' That it was the Holy Ghost that gave him witness in his conscience, that the books of the Old and New Testament were the Holy Scripture.' Lewis de Marsac, being about the same time put to death by fire at Lyons, when he was asked how he knew the Holy Scriptures to be the gospel, said, ' God hath taught me so by his Spirit : ' and being also asked, whether it was his incumbent duty to read the Holy Scriptures, and who had instructed him concerning them, he answered, ' That God by his Spirit had effected it, that he got some knowledge thereof ; and that without his grace, and the enlightening of his Spirit, he could not comprehend and understand any thing in the gospel.' John Calvin did also write to the aforesaid Peloquin and Marsac : ' God will cause that the confession which you will make according to the measure of the Spirit he has given you, will produce a greater fruit of edification, than all others that

might be sent you.' And to Matthew Dymonet, prisoner at Lyons, he wrote thus: 'Submit modestly to the guidings of God's Spirit; answer with all moderation and discretion, keeping to the rule of the Scriptures. I have believed, and therefore I will speak; but let not this hinder thee to speak freely and sincerely, being persuaded that he who promised to give us a mouth, and such wisdom as the gainsayers cannot withstand, will never forsake thee.'

More of the like instances of the operations of the Spirit of God in his witnesses I could allege, if I had so intended; but I give here only a slender draught of the sincerity and the principle of those that were come but to the dawnings of the Reformation; for higher I cannot esteem that time, because the eyes of the most zealous men of those days were yet so much covered with the fogs which then were, and the prejudice of the old leaven, that they did not discern all things in a full clearness; for one saw the error of one thing, and others of another; but human affection did work too strong, and thereby they judged one another, as is abundantly mentioned in history.

If we rightly look into this, it seems very absurd to think that the Reformation (which in former times had been pretty much advanced by some eminent men; as Luther, Melancthon, Œcolompadius, Calvin, Menno, and others) then was brought to perfection: for we perceive that even those reformers themselves, at first had not such a clear sight into many things, as afterwards they got; which to demonstrate at large, I count unnecessary. Since England being the chief stage on which the things I intend to describe have been transacted, I will turn my face thitherward, to take a view cursorily of the beginning and process of the Reformation there.

Passing by Wickliff and others, I begin with Thomas Cranmer, who, because of his sincere and good life, being advanced by king Henry VIII. to the archbishop's see of Canterbury, did all that was in his power to reform the errors crept into the church of Rome; and therefore, in the year 1536, he exhorted the king, who much loved him, to proceed to a reformation, and that nothing in religion should be determined without clear proofs from Scripture; and therefore he proposed that these points, 'whether there was a purgatory—whether deceased saints ought to be invoked—and how images were to be regarded,' well needed to be inquired into; since it began to appear that several things were errors, for which some people not long before had suffered death.

Some time after, Thomas Cromwell, a chief minister of the kingdom, and a great friend of Cranmer, published some injunctions in the king's name, wherein all churchmen were required, no more to recommend to people, images, relics, or pilgrimages, but to teach them the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten command-

ments in English. This was a great step towards the translation of the Bible into English, which being also furthered by Cranmer, the next year came out in print; and by the king's warrant, the clergy were required to set up Bibles in their churches; so that now all that could, might read the Holy Scripture in their native tongue. Cranmer not content with this, obtained, in the year 1539, a permission for all people to have the Bible in their houses; yet for all that, he still was an asserter of the corporal presence of Christ in the host, until in the year 1549, in the reign of king Edward VI. when the times were more free, he was induced by Nicholas Ridley, a zealous reformer, and afterwards a martyr under queen Mary, to inquire better into the thing, and to discover the absurdity of it; from whence he did not only oppose and suppress that superstition, but also many others; and it is likely, that if opportunity had been given him, he would have reformed more. Nevertheless, it cannot but be wondered at, that he who seems to have been a man of a meek temper, could give his vote to the burning of those whom he looked upon to be heretics; as John Nicholson, *alias* Lambert, in the reign of Henry VIII. for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; and Joan Bocher, and George Parr, under Edward VI., the first for denying that Christ had taken flesh from the virgin Mary, and the latter for not believing the deity of Christ: from whence we may see, what a wrong zeal for religion is able to effect: but without question, he was come to be of another mind, when, in the year 1556, under the bloody reign of queen Mary, this was not only laid in his dish, but he was also forced to undergo the same lot of being burnt alive.

Now, though after his death, the bishops under queen Elizabeth were content with the Reformation made by Cranmer; yet it pleased God, in the year 1568, to raise other persons that testified publicly against many of the remaining superstitions; and although Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, and Benson were imprisoned by the queen's order, yet they got many followers, and also the name of Puritans. And notwithstanding the archbishop, to prevent this, drew up some articles of faith, to be signed by all clergymen, yet he met with great opposition in the undertaking: for one Robert Brown, a young student of Cambridge, (from whom the name of Brownists was afterwards borrowed,) and Richard Harrison, a schoolmaster, published, in the year 1583, some books, wherein they showed how much the church of England was still infected with Romish errors; which was of such effect, that the eyes of many people came thereby to be opened, who so valiantly maintained that doctrine which they believed to be the truth, that some of the most zealous among them, viz., Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, about the year 1593, were put to death because of their testimony, more (as may

very well be believed) by the instigation of the clergy, than by the desire of the queen: for some time after it happened, that she asked Dr. Reynolds his opinion of those men, especially Barrow and Greenwood: to which he answered, 'That it would not avail any thing to show his judgment concerning them, seeing they were put to death.' But the queen yet pressing him further, he said, 'That he was persuaded if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church of God, as had been raised up in that age.' At which the queen sighed, and said no more. But afterwards riding by the place where they were executed, and calling to mind their death, she demanded of the earl of Cumberland, that was present when they suffered, what end they made. He answered, 'A very godly end, and they prayed for your majesty and the state.' Moreover one Philips, a famous preacher, having seen Barrow's preparation for death, said, 'Barrow, Barrow, my soul be with thine.'

After the death of queen Elizabeth, when James I. had ascended the throne, the followers of those men suffered much for their separation from the church of England: but very remarkable it is, that even those of that persuasion, of which many in the reign of king Charles I. went to New England, to avoid the persecution of the bishops, afterwards themselves turned cruel persecutors of pious people, by inhuman whippings, &c.; and lastly, by putting some to death by the hands of a hangman: a clear proof indeed, that those in whom such a ground of bitterness was left still, though it had not always brought forth the like abominable fruits, were not come yet to a perfect reformation; for though the stem of human traditions and institutions sometimes had been shaken strongly, yet much of the root was left. Therefore it pleased God, who is used to enlighten men gradually, to make yet a clearer discovery of his truth, which in some places already darted forth its beams to mankind, in a time when many godly people were zealously seeking after a further manifestation of the will of God, from a sense that, notwithstanding all their outward observations of religious performances, there still stood a partition wall whereby the soul was hindered from living in perfect peace with its Creator.

For in that time there were in England many separate societies, and amongst the rest also, such as were called Seekers, who at first seemed to promise great matters; but the sequel showed that their foundation was not the Rock of Ages, and so divers of them soon lost their first integrity. Now those people who began to take heed to a divine conviction in the conscience, and accordingly preached to others the doctrine of an inward light wherewith Christ had enlightened men, in the latter end of the time of king Charles I. began to increase in number, and they became a separate society among men, and in process of time the name of

QUAKERS, was in scorn imposed on them ; and in most countries in Europe, they have been accused of many exorbitant absurdities, both in life and doctrine! I have designed to describe impartially, and according to truth, the first beginnings and rise, and also the progress of that people, and to stretch out the relation of their increase and transactions, so far as my time of life and leisure will permit.

I enter upon a work, which, consisting of many very singular instances, in its beginning appears hard and difficult, and in the process often sad and dreadful. For among manifold adversities, we shall not only meet with bitter revilings, scornful mockings, rude abuses, and bloody blows from the fool-hardy rabble ; but also severe persecutions, hard imprisonments, grievous banishments, unmerciful spoil of goods, cruel whippings, cutting off of ears, smotherings in prisons, and also putting to death by the hands of the hangman, by order of the magistrates : afterwards some quiet and rest ; then again severe persecution, until the furious promoters of it, at last wearied, desisted from their mischievous labour for a time, more by being at their wits' end, than out of mercy. And among all these vicissitudes, notable instances have been seen of unfeigned godliness, sincere love, much true-heartedness, extraordinary meekness, singular patience, ardent zeal, undaunted courage, and unshaken steadfastness, even among the female sex, which though the weakest, yet in the hardest attacks showed a more than manly spirit ; insomuch, that seldom any age hath afforded matter where more powerful examples to virtue have been seen.

The first I find that was thus immediately reached in his mind, was a young man called George Fox, born at Drayton in Leicestershire, in the month called July, in the year 1624, from parents that were members of the public church, or church of England, as appeareth to me from a paper, in his life-time drawn up by his order, at my request, and sent me. His father was Christopher Fox, a weaver by trade, an honest man, and of such a virtuous life, that his neighbours were used to call him Righteous Christer. His mother was Mary Lago, an upright woman, and of the stock of the martyrs. This George Fox was, even in his minority, endued with a gravity and staidness of mind, that is seldom seen in children ; so that he seeing how old people carried themselves lightly and wantonly, had such an aversion to it, that he would say within himself, ' If ever I come to be a man, surely I will not be so wanton.' His parents in the meanwhile endeavoured to train him up, as they did their other children, in the common way of worship, his mother especially contributing thereto, as being eminent for piety : but even from a child he was seen to be of another frame of mind than his brethren ; for he was more religious, retired, still, and solid, and was also observing beyond

his age, as appeared from the answers he gave, and the questions he asked, concerning religious matters, to the astonishment of those that heard him. His mother seeing this extraordinary temper and godliness, which so early did shine through him, so that he would not meddle with childish plays, did not think fit to trouble him about the way of worship, but carried herself indulgent towards him. Meanwhile he learned to read pretty well, and to write so much as would serve him afterwards to signify his meaning to others. When he was come to eleven years of age, he endeavoured to live a pure and righteous life, and to be faithful in all things, viz. inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; since the Lord by his good Spirit had showed him that he was to keep his word always, and that he ought not to commit excess in eating or drinking. Thus growing up in virtue, some of his relations were for having him trained up in the schools, to make a priest of him; but others persuaded to the contrary, and so he was put to a shoemaker, that dealt also in wool, and in cattle. In his master's employment he took most delight in sheep, and was very skilful in what belonged thereto, for it was an employment that very well suited his mind; and his thus being a shepherd was, as an eminent author saith, 'A just emblem of his after ministry and service.' He acquitted himself so diligently in his business, and minded it so well, that his master was successful in his trade whilst George was with him. He often used in his dealings the word 'verily', and then he kept so strict to it, that people that knew him, would say, 'If George says verily, there is no altering him.'

Now, though my design is not to give a description of state affairs, yet I find it necessary to mention something of the chief temporal occurrences in England, inasmuch as they may have relation to the affairs of the church, lest my history might seem an incomplete work. Transiently therefore I will say, that in England about this time appeared the beginnings of a civil war, in which religion had some share; for the bishops began to introduce several innovations, and caused not only rails to be made about the communion-table, which now was called the high-altar; but those that approached it bowed thrice, and a bow was made at the pronouncing of the name of Jesus. Thus ceremonies increased from time to time; and those preachers that were really religious, and spoke most to edification, were slighted and set by; the bishops, in their visitations, minding chiefly to promote such rites as favoured popery: and this was not only done in England, but in Scotland also endeavours were made to bring in episcopacy. This caused a ferment among the people, which when it came to an insurrection, they generally believed that it was for religion's sake, which made some cry in the open streets, where there was any confluence of people, 'To your tents, O Israel.' And because the parliament was of opinion that king Charles I. encroached

upon their privileges, which they would not suffer, this so exasperated that prince, that he brought together an army, and set up his standard, first on the castle of Nottingham, where it was blown down the same evening, on the 25th of the month called August, in the year 1642. But before that time the king had taken possession of some fortified places, and the parliament, on the other hand, had also got some in their power. Some time after, a battle was fought between the royalists and the parliament, near Edge Hill, in Warwickshire, where neither party prevailed much.

About this time George Fox, who more and more endeavoured to lead a godly life, being come to the nineteenth year of his age, it happened, at a fair, that a cousin of his and another coming to him, asked whether he would drink a jug of beer with them; he being thirsty, said yes, and went with them to an inn: but after each had drank a glass, they began to drink healths, and said, that he that would not drink should pay for all. This grieved George much, seeing that people who professed to be religious, behaved themselves thus, and therefore he rose up to be gone; and putting his hand into his pocket, he took a groat, and laid it down upon the table, saying, 'If it be so, I'll leave you;' and so he went away; and when his business was done, he returned home; but did not go to bed that night, but prayed, and cried earnestly to the Lord: and it seemed to him that his supplications were answered after this manner: 'Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; therefore thou must forsake all, both young and old, and be as a stranger to them.' This, which he took to be a divine admonition, made such a powerful impression on his mind, that he resolved to break off all familiar fellowship and conversation with young and old, and even to leave his relations, and live a separate and retired life. On the 9th of September, in the year 1643, he departed to Lutterworth, where he staid some time, and from thence went to Northampton, where he also made some stay, and then passed to Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire; and after having staid a while there, he went to Barnet, whither he came in the month called June, in the year 1644.

Whilst he thus led a solitary life, he fasted often, and read the holy Scriptures diligently, so that some professors took notice of him, and sought to be acquainted with him. But he soon perceiving they did not possess what they professed, grew afraid of them, and shunned their company. In this time he fell into a strong temptation, almost to despair, and was in mighty trouble, sometimes keeping himself retired in his chamber, and often walking solitary to wait upon the Lord. In this state he saw how Christ had been tempted; but when he looked to his own condition, he wondered, and said, 'Was I ever so before?' He began

to think also that he had done amiss against his relations, because he had forsaken them ; and he called to mind all his former time, to consider whether he had wronged any. Thus temptations grew more and more ; and when Satan could not effect his design upon him that way, he laid snares for him to draw him to commit some sin, thereby to bring him to despair. He was then about twenty years of age, and continued a long while in this condition, and would fain have put it from him ; which made him go to many a priest to look for comfort, but he did not find it from them. In this miserable state he went to London, in hopes of finding some relief among the great professors of that city : but being come there, he saw them much darkened in their understandings. He had an uncle there, one Pickering, a Baptist, and those of that persuasion were tender then ; yet he could not resolve to impart his mind to them, or join with them, because he saw all, young and old, where they were. And though some of the best would have had him staid there, yet he was fearful, and so returned homewards : for having understood that his parents and relations were troubled at his absence, he would rather go to them again lest he should grieve them. Now when he was come into Leicestershire, his relations would have had him married ; but he prudently told them he was but a lad, and must get wisdom. Others would have had him in the auxiliary band among the forces of the parliament, which being entered now into an intestine war with the king, had, with their forces this year, beaten not only the king's army under prince Rupert, but also conquered the city of York. But to persuade George to list himself a soldier, was so against his mind, that he refused it, and went to Coventry, where he took a chamber for a while at a professor's house, where he staid some time, there being many people in that town who endeavoured to live religiously. After some time he went into his own country again, and was there about a year, in great sorrows and troubles, walking many nights by himself.

Nathaniel Stevens, the priest of Drayton, (the town of George's birth,) would often come to him, and George to the priest ; and when Stevens visited him, he would sometimes bring another priest along with him, and then George would ask them questions, and reason with them. Once Stevens asked him why Christ cried out upon the cross, ' My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? '—and why he said, ' If it be possible, let this cup pass from me ; yet not my will, but thine be done.' To this George answered thus : ' At that time the sins of all mankind were upon Christ, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear, and to be an offering for them, as he was man ; but died not, as he was God : and so, in that he died for all men, and tasted death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world.' When George Fox spoke

this, he was in some measure sensible of Christ's sufferings, and what he went through. And his saying did so please the priest, that he said it was a very good full answer, and such a one as he had not heard. He would also applaud and speak highly of George Fox to others, and what George said in discourse to him, that he would preach of on the first-days of the week : for which George did not like him.

After some time he went to an ancient priest at Mansetter, in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations ; but he being altogether ignorant of George's condition, bid him take tobacco, and sing psalms. But George signified that he was no lover of tobacco, and as for psalms, he was not in a state to sing. Then the priest bid him come again, and that then he would tell him many things. But when George came, the priest was angry and pettish, for George's former words had displeased him ; and he was so indiscreet, that what George had told him of his sorrows and griefs, he told again to his servants, so that it got among the milk-lasses ; and grieved him to have opened his mind to such a one ; and he saw they were all miserable comforters. Then he heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man, and therefore he went to him, but found him like an empty hollow cask.

Hearing afterwards of one Dr. Cradock of Coventry, he went to him also, and asked him whence temptations and despair did arise, and how troubles came to be wrought in man. The priest, instead of answering, asked him who was Christ's father and mother. George told him Mary was his mother, and he was supposed to be the son of Joseph ; but he was the Son of God. Now as they were walking together in Dr. Cradock's garden, it happened that George, in turning, set his foot on the side of a bed, which so disturbed that teacher, as if his house had been on fire, and thus all their discourse was lost ; and George went away in sorrow, worse than he was when he came, seeing he found none that could reach his condition. After this he went to one Macham, a priest of high account ; and he, no more skilful than the others, was for giving George some physic, and for bleeding him ; but they could not get one drop of blood from him, either in the arms or the head : his body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief, and trouble, which were so great upon him, that he could have wished never to have been born, to behold the vanity and wickedness of men ; or that he had been born blind, and so he might never have seen it ; and deaf, that he might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. And when the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves, he went from house to house, looking for poor widows, and giving them some money. And when he was invited to marriages (as sometimes he was) he would

go to none at all ; but the next day, or soon after, he went and visited those that were newly married ; and if they were poor, he gave them some money ; for he had wherewith both to keep himself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the needful.

Whilst the mind of George Fox was thus in trouble, the state of England was also in a great stir ; for the parliament was for turning out of bishops, and introducing the Presbyterian Directory ; which however as yet could not be well effected, although William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, had been made to stoop to the block ; and the power of the king by this time was much weakened ; for his army was this summer near Naseby, not far from Leicester, overcome by an army of untrained bands, and about six thousand men, among whom many great officers were taken prisoners, and his cabinet, with abundance of letters of great moment, was seized ; insomuch, that though they had some skirmishes, yet no decisive battle was fought afterwards.

But since a circumstantial description of these state affairs is not within my design, I will return again to George Fox, who in the beginning of the year 1646, as he was going to Coventry, and entering towards the gate, a consideration arose in him how it was said that all Christians are believers, both Protestants and Papists ; and it was opened to him, that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and passed from death to life, and that none were true believers but such : and though others said they were believers, yet they were not. At another time he was walking in a field on a first-day morning, it was discovered unto his understanding, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man to be a minister of Christ. At this he wondered, because it was the common belief of people ; but for all that, he took this to be a divine revelation, and he admired the goodness of the Lord, believing now the ordinary ministers not to be such as they pretended to be. This made him unwilling to go any more to church, as it was called, to hear the priest Stevens, believing that he could not profit thereby : and therefore instead of going thither, he would get into the orchard, or the fields, by himself, with his Bible, which he esteemed above all books, seeking thus to be edified in solitariness. At this his relations were much troubled ; but he told them, did not John the apostle say to the believers, “ that they needed no man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them ; ” and though they knew this to be Scripture, and that it was true, yet it grieved them, because he would not go to hear the priest with them, but separated himself from their way of worship : for he saw now that a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be ; and that being bred at the universities did not qualify a man to be a minister of Christ.

Thus he lived by himself, not joining with any, nay, not of the dissenting people, but became a stranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

Some time after, it was opened in him, that God, who made the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands. And though this seemed at first strange to him, because both priests and people used to call their churches dreadful places, holy ground, and temples of God; yet it was immediately showed him, that the Lord did not dwell in these temples which man had erected, but in peoples' hearts, and that his people were the temple he dwelt in. This was discovered to him when he was walking in the fields to the house of one of his relations. And when he came there, it was told him, that Nathaniel Stevens the priest had been there, and told them he was afraid of Fox, for going after new lights. This made him smile, because now he saw the true state of the priests. But he said nothing of this to his relations, who, though they saw that something more was required than the vulgar way of worship, yet they continued therein, being grieved because he would not also go to hear the priests. Only he told them there was an anointing in man, to teach him; and that the Lord would teach his people himself. He had great openings now concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when he spake of them, the priests and professors would say, that was 'a sealed up book.' But to this he said, 'Christ could open the seals, and that the things contained in that book, very nearly concerned us; since the Epistles of the apostles were written to the saints of those times, but the Revelations point at things to come.'

In England, in those days, were people of very odd notions, and among the rest such as held, 'that women have no souls.' He lighting on some of these, could not forbear reproving them, since the Scripture, as he told them plainly, held forth the contrary; for the blessed virgin Mary said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord; and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." He also came among a people that relied much on dreams; but he told them, 'Except they could distinguish between dream and dream, their observations would be nothing but confusion, since there were three sorts of dreams; for multiplicity of business sometimes caused dreams; and there were whisperings of Satan in the night seasons; and there were also speakings of God to man in dreams.' But because these people were more in want of a clear discerning, than of good will, they at length came out of those imaginations, and at last became fellow-believers with him; who, though he had great openings in his understanding, yet great trouble and temptations many times came upon him; so that when it was day, he wished for night, and when it was night, he wished for day. Nevertheless, among all those troubles, his un-

derstanding was so opened, that he could say with David, "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge;" for even in these troubles he had great openings of many places in Scripture.

As to state affairs, things continued in a distracted condition; for the king, who after his army had been beaten, was gone to the Scots, was by them delivered up to the English; to whom now he could no more prescribe laws, but was fain to receive them. And the churchmen were also at variance; for the Independents (several of which sat also in parliament) began to say, that between Episcopacy (against which they had fought conjunctly) and Presbytery, the difference was only in the name, and some few outward circumstances; since people of a tender conscience might apprehend no less oppression from the Presbyterians, than from the Episcopalians: and that this fear was not vain or idle, time afterwards hath shown abundantly.

But let us return to George Fox, who in the beginning of the year 1647, feeling some drawings to go into Derbyshire, went thither, and meeting there with some friendly people, had many discourses with them. Then passing further into the Peak-country, he met with more such people, and also some that were swayed by empty and high notions. And travelling into Nottinghamshire, there he met with a tender people, and among these one Elizabeth Hooton, of which woman more will be said in the sequel: with these he had some meetings and discourses. But his troubles and temptations still continued; and he fasted much, and walked often abroad in solitary places, taking his Bible with him; and then sat in hollow trees, and lonesome places till night came on; and frequently in the night he walked mournfully about, being surrounded with many sorrows in the times of these first workings of the Lord in him.

During all this time, he never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave up himself to the disposing of the Lord; having forsaken not only all evil company, but also taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations; and so he travelled up and down as a stranger on the earth, which way he felt his heart inclined: and when he came into a town, he took a chamber to himself there, and tarried sometimes a month, sometimes more, sometimes less, in a place; for he was afraid of staying long in any place, lest, being a tender young man, he should be hurt by too familiar a conversation with men.

Now, though it might seem not very agreeable with the gravity of my work, to mention what kind of clothes he wore in these first years of his peregrination; yet I do not count it absurd to say here, that it is indeed true what a certain author, viz. Gerard Croes, relates of him, that he was clothed with leather; but not, as the said author adds, because he could not, nor would not,

forget his former leather work; but it was partly for the simplicity of that dress, and also because such a clothing was strong, and needed but little mending or repairing; which was commodious for him who had no steady dwelling-place, and every where in his travelling about sought to live in a lonely state: for keeping himself thus as a stranger, he sought heavenly wisdom, and endeavoured to get knowledge of the Lord, and to be weaned from outward things, to rely wholly on the Lord alone. Although his troubles were great, yet they were not so continual but that he had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such a heavenly joy, that admiring the love of God to his soul, he would say with the psalmist: "Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field." Now he regarded the priests but little, because he clearly saw that to be trained up in the universities, and to be instructed in languages, liberal arts, and the like sciences, was not sufficient to make any one a minister of the gospel; but he looked more after the dissenting people: yet as he had forsaken the priests, so he left the separate preachers also, because he saw there was none among them all that could speak to his condition. And when all his hopes in them, and in all men were gone, then he heard, according to what he relates himself, a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus that can speak to thy condition.' Having heard this, his heart leapt for joy, and it was showed him why there was none upon the earth that could speak to his condition; namely, that he might give the Lord alone all the glory, and that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence.

He then experimentally knowing that Christ enlightens man, and gives him grace, faith, and power, his desires after the Lord, and his zeal in the pure knowledge of God grew stronger; so that he wished to increase therein without the help of any man, book, or writing. Yet he was a diligent reader of the Holy Scriptures, that speak at large of God and Christ, though he knew him not but by revelation, as he, who had the key, did open. Thus he entered into no fellowship with any society of people, because he saw nothing but corruptions every where; which made him endeavour to keep fellowship only with Christ: since in the greatest temptations, when he almost despaired, it was shown him, that Christ had been tempted by the same devil; but that he had overcome him, and bruised his head, and that therefore through the power, light, grace, and Spirit of God, he himself might also overcome. Thus the Lord assisted him in the deepest miseries and sorrows, and he found his grace to be sufficient: insomuch that, though he had yet some desires after the help of men, his thirst was chiefly after the Lord, the Creator of all, and his Son Jesus Christ; because nothing could give him any comfort but the Lord by his power; and he clearly saw that all the world,

though he had possessed a king's state, would not have profited him.

In this condition his understanding came more and more to be opened, so that he saw how death in Adam had passed upon all men; but that by Christ, who tasted death for all men, a deliverance from it, and an entrance into God's kingdom, might be obtained. Nevertheless his temptations continued, so that he began to question whether he might have sinned against the Holy Ghost. This brought great perplexity and trouble over him for many days; yet he still gave up himself to the Lord: and one day, when he had been walking solitarily abroad, and was come home, he became exceeding sensible of the love of God to him, so that he could not but admire it. Here it was shewed him, that all was to be done in and by Christ; that he conquers and destroys the tempter the devil, and all his works; and that all these troubles and temptations were good for him, for the trial of his faith. The effect of this was, that though at times his mind was much exercised, yet he was stayed by a secret belief; and his soul, by a firm hope, which was to him as an anchor, was kept unhurt in the dissolute world, swimming above the raging waves of temptations. After this (as he relates himself) there did a pure fire appear in him; and he saw that the appearance of Christ in the heart was as a refiner's fire, and as the fuller's soap; and that a spiritual discerning was given to him, by which he saw what it was that veiled his mind, and what it was that did open it: and that which could not abide in patience, he found to be of the flesh, that could not give up to the will of God, nor yield up itself to die by the cross, to wit, the power of God. On the other hand, he perceived it was the groans of the Spirit which did open his understanding, and that in that Spirit there must be a waiting upon God to obtain redemption.

About this time he heard of a woman in Lancashire that had fasted twenty-two days, and he went to see her: but coming there he saw that she was under a temptation, and after he had spoken to her what he felt on his mind, he left her, and went to Duckenfield and Manchester, where he stayed awhile among the professors he found there, and declared to them that doctrine which now he firmly believed to be truth; and some were convinced, so as to receive the inward divineteaching of the Lord, and to take that for their rule. This, by what I can find, was the first beginning of George Fox's preaching; which, as I have been credibly informed, in those early years chiefly consisted of some few, but powerful and piercing words, to those whose hearts were already in some measure prepared to be capable of receiving this doctrine. And it seems to me that these people, and also Elizabeth Hooton (already mentioned) have been the first who by such a mean or weak preaching came to be his fellow-believers: though there were also

some others who by the like immediate way, as George Fox himself, were convinced in their minds, and came to see that they ought diligently to take heed to the teachings of the grace of God that had appeared to them. And thus it happened that these unexpectedly and unawares came to meet with fellow-believers, which they were not acquainted with before, as will be more circumstantially related hereafter.

But to return again to George Fox; it set the professors of those times in a rage, that some of their adherents hearkened to his preaching; for they could not endure to hear perfection spoken of, and a holy and sinless life, as a state that could be obtained here. Not long after he travelled to Broughton in Leicestershire, and there went into a meeting of the Baptists, where some people of other notions also came. This gave him occasion to preach the doctrine of truth among them, and that not in vain; for since he had great openings in the Scriptures, and that a special power of the Lord's workings began to spring in those parts, several were so reached in their minds, that they came to be convinced, and were turned from darkness to light, partly by his preaching, and partly by reasoning with some. Yet he himself was still sometimes under great temptations, without finding any to open his condition to, but the Lord alone, unto whom he cried night and day for help.

Some time after, he went back into Nottinghamshire, and there it pleased the Lord to show him, that the natures of those things which were hurtful without, were also within, in the minds of wicked men; and that the natures of dogs, swine, vipers, and those of Cain, Ishmael, Esau, Pharoah, &c., were in the hearts of many people. But since this did grieve him, he cried to the Lord, saying, 'Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils?' And inwardly it was answered him, 'That it was needful he should have a sense of all conditions; how else should he speak to all conditions?' He also saw there was an ocean of darkness and death; but withal an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness; in all which he perceived the infinite love of God. About that time it happened, that walking in the town of Mansfield, by the steeple-house side, it was inwardly told him, 'That which people trample upon must be thy food;' and at the saying of this, it was opened to him, that it was the life of Christ people did trample upon; and that they fed one another with words, without minding that thereby the blood of the Son of God was trampled under foot. And though it seemed at first strange to him, that he should feed on that which the high professors trample upon, yet it was clearly opened to him how this could be.

Then many people came far and near to see him; and though he spoke sometimes, to open religious matters to them, yet he was

fearful of being drawn out by them. Now the reason of people thus flocking to him might proceed partly from this: there was one Brown, who upon his death-bed spoke by way of prophecy many notable things concerning George Fox, and among the rest, 'that he should be made instrumental by the Lord to the conversion of people.' And of others that then were something in show, he said, 'That they should come to nothing;' which was fulfilled in time, though this man did not live to see it, for he was not raised from his sickness. But after he was buried, George Fox fell into such a condition, that he not only looked like a dead body, but unto many that came to see him he seemed as if he had been really dead: and many visited him for about fourteen days time, who wondered to see him so much altered in countenance.

At length his sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from him, so that he could have wept night and day with tears of joy in brokenness of heart. And to give an account of his condition to those that are able to comprehend it, I will use his own words: 'I saw,' saith he, 'into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered; and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words: for I have been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Christ: even through that darkness was I brought which covered all the world, and which chained down all, and shut up all in the death. And the same eternal power of God, which brought me through those things, was that which afterwards shook the nation, priests, professors, and people. Then could I say, I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat, that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it: and for this I mourned with tears.' Thus far George Fox's own words, of whom now a report went abroad, that he was a young man that had a discerning spirit: whereupon many professors, priests, and people, came to him, and his ministry increased; for he having received great openings, spoke to them of the things of God, and was heard with attention by many, who going away, spread the fame thereof. Then came the tempter, and set upon him again, charging him that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost; but he could not tell in what; and then Paul's condition came before him, how after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him, that he might not exalt himself. Thus George Fox, by the assistance of the Lord, got also over that temptation.

Now the 47th year of that century drew to an end, and state affairs in England grew more and more clouded and intricate; for the king not thinking himself any longer safe at Hampton Court, whither he had been brought from the army, withdrew to the Isle of Wight; whilst the parliament still insisted on the abrogation of Episcopacy, and would be master of the military forces: which the king not being willing to yield to, was now kept in closer custody, and no more regarded as a sovereign, to whom obedience was due from the parliament.

Under these intestine troubles, the minds of many people came to be fitted to receive a nearer way and doctrine of godliness, and it was in the year 1648, that several persons, seeking the Lord, were become fellow-believers, and entered into society with George Fox; insomuch that they began to have great meetings in Nottinghamshire, which were visited by many. About that time there was a meeting of priests and professors at a justice's house; and George Fox went among them, and heard them discourse concerning what the apostle Paul said, he had not known sin, but by the law, which said, thou shalt not lust. And since they held that to be spoken of the outward law, George Fox told them, 'Paul spoke that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law before, and was bred up in it, when he was in the lust of persecution: but it was the law of God in his mind, which he served, and which the law in his members warred against.' This saying found so much entrance, that those of the priests and professors that were most moderate, yielded, and consented that it was not the outward law, but the inward, that showed the inward lust, which the Apostle spoke of. After this, he went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and other people; and being among them, and moved to pray, such an extraordinary power appeared, and seized on the hearts of some in so eminent a manner, that even the house seemed to be shaken: and after prayer, some of the auditory began to say, 'That this resembled that in the days of the apostles, when on the day of Pentecost, the house where they were met was shaken.'

Not long after this there was another great meeting of professors, where G. Fox came also; who hearing them discourse about the blood of Christ, he cried out among them: 'Do ye not see the blood of Christ? Ye must see it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works, to serve the living God.' This was a doctrine which startled these professors, who would have the blood of Christ only without them, not thinking that it was to be felt inwardly. But a certain captain, whose name was Amos Stoddard, was so reached, that seeing how they endeavoured to bear down G. Fox with many words, he said, 'Let the youth speak, hear the youth speak;' and coming afterwards to be more acquainted with G. Fox, he had an

opportunity to be farther instructed in the way of godliness, of which he came to be a faithful follower.

Some time after, G. Fox returned to Leicestershire, his own country, where several tender people came to be convinced by his preaching. Passing thence into Warwickshire, he met with a great company of professors, who being come together in the field, were praying and expounding the Scriptures. Here the Bible was given him, which he opened on the 5th of Matthew, where Christ expounded some parts of the law; from whence G. Fox took occasion to open to them the inward and outward state of man: and that which he held forth getting some ground, they fell into a fierce contention among themselves, and so parted.

Then he heard of a great meeting to be at Leicester, for a dispute; wherein those of several persuasions, as Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Episcopalians, were said to be all concerned. This meeting being appointed to be in the steeple-house, he went thither where abundance of people were met, some of those that spoke being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit. At last, after several reasonings, a woman started a question, and asked, What that birth was the apostle Peter spoke of, viz. 'a being born again of incorruptible seed, by the word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever.' The priest, instead of answering this question, said to her, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the church;' though he had before given liberty for any to speak. This kindled G. Fox's zeal, so that he stept up, and asked the priest, 'Dost thou call this place (the steeple-house) a church? Or dost thou call this mixt multitude a church?' But the priest not answering to this, asked, What a church was? and G. Fox told him, The church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of: but he was not the head of a mixt multitude, or of an old house, made up of limestones and wood. This caused such a stir, that the priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, whereby the dispute was marred. But G. Fox went to a great inn, and there disputed with the priests and professors of all sorts, maintaining what he had said, till they all went away; yet several were convinced that day, and among these, the woman who asked the question aforesaid.

After this, G. Fox returned again into Nottinghamshire, and went into the vale of Beavor, where he preached repentance to the people: and he staying some weeks there, and passing through several towns, many were convinced of the truth of his doctrine. About that time, as he was sitting by the fire one morning, a cloud came over him, and a temptation beset him; and he sitting still, it was suggested, All things come by nature; and

he was in a manner quite clouded: but he continuing to sit still, the people of the house perceived nothing: at length a living hope arose in him, and also a voice, that said, there is a living God, who made all things; and immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, whereby his heart was made glad, and he praised the Lord.

Not long after, he met with some people that had a mischievous notion, that there was no God, but that all things came by nature. But he, reasoning with them, so confounded them, that some were fain to confess that there was a living God. Then he saw that it was good for him to have been tried under such a cloud. Now in those parts he had great meetings, and a divine power working in that country, and thereabouts, many were gathered. Then coming into Derbyshire, there was a great meeting of his friends at Eaton, where many of them began to preach the doctrine of truth, who afterwards were moved to declare the truth in other places also.

George Fox coming about this time to Mansfield, heard, that in a town about eight miles off, there was to be a sitting of justices, to deliberate about hiring of servants; and he, feeling a constraint upon his mind went thither, and exhorted them, not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them; and the servants, many of whom were come thither, he admonished to do their duty, and serve honestly; and they all received his exhortation kindly. He felt himself also moved to go to several courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield, and other places, warning them to leave off oppression, deceit, and other evils. And having heard at Mansfield of one in the country who was a common drunkard, and a noted whoremaster, and a poet also, he went to him, and reproved him in an awful manner for his evil courses; which so struck him, that coming afterwards to G. Fox, he told him, that he was so smitten when he spoke to him, that he had scarce any strength left in him. And this man was so thoroughly convinced, that he turned from his wickedness, and became an honest, sober man, to the astonishment of those that knew him before. Thus the work of G. Fox's ministry went forward, and many were thereby turned from darkness to light; and divers meetings of his friends, who were much increased in number since the year 1646, were now set up in several places.

George Fox was now come up to quite another state than formerly he had lived in; for he knew not only a renewing of the heart, and a restoration of the mind, but the virtues of the creatures were also opened to him; so that he began to deliberate whether he should practise physic for the good of mankind. But God had another service for him; and it was showed him, that he was to enter into a spiritual labour; and also that those who con-

tinued faithful to the Lord, might attain to a state in which the sinful inclination was subdued. Moreover, the three great professions in the world, viz. physic, divinity, (so called) and law, were opened to him, whereby he saw that the physicians wanting the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made, knew not their virtues: that the lawyers generally were void of equity and justice, and so out of the law of God, which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and answered the Spirit of God that was oppressed in man: and that the priests for the most part were out of the true faith, which Christ is the author of, and which purifies the heart, and brings man to have access to God. So that these physicians, lawyers, and priests, who pretended to cure the body, to establish the property of the people, and to cure the soul, were all without the true knowledge and wisdom they ought to possess. Yet he felt there was a divine power, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive, and bow unto it. And he saw also, that though the priests did err, yet they were not the greatest deceivers spoken of in the scriptures; but that these great deceivers were such, who, as Cain, had heard the voice of God, and who, as Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their company, were come out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, and had praised God on the banks of the sea-shore; and who being come as far as Balaam, could speak the word of the Lord, as having heard his voice, and known his spirit, so that they could see the star of Jacob, and the goodliness of Israel's tents, which no enchantment could prevail against: these that could speak so much of their divine experience, and yet turned from the spirit of God, and went into the gainsaying, these he saw would be the great deceivers, far beyond the priests. He saw also that people generally did read the scriptures, without having a true sense of them; for some cried out much against Cain, Ishmael, Esau, Corah, Balaam, Judas, &c. not regarding that the nature of these was yet alive in themselves; whereby they always applied to others that nature in which they themselves lived.

The Lord had also opened to him now, that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ; and he saw that they that believed in it, came out of condemnation, and became the children of the light: but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. All this he saw in the pure openings of the light. He also saw that God had afforded a measure of his spirit to all men, and that thereby they could truly come to serve the Lord, and to worship him; and that his grace, which brings salvation, and had appeared to all men, was able to bring them into the favour of God.

And on a certain time, as he was walking in the fields, he understood that it was said to him: 'Thy name is written in the Lamb's Book of Life, which was before the foundation of the

world.' This he took to be the voice of the Lord, and believed it to be true. Then he felt himself powerfully moved to go abroad into the world, which was like a briery thorny wilderness; and he found then that the world swelled against him, and made a noise like the great raging waves of the sea: for when he came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongst the priests, professors, magistrates, and people, they were all like a disturbed sea. Now, he was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for he saw, that to as many as should receive him in his light, he would give power to become the sons of God; and that therefore he was to turn people to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart; and that by this grace they might be taught, and thereby obtain salvation; since Christ had died for all men, and was a propitiation for all, having enlightened all men with his divine saving light, and the manifestation of the Spirit of God being given to every man to profit withal. He now being sent thus to preach the everlasting gospel, did it with gladness, and endeavoured to bring people off from their own ways, to Christ, the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God, the general assembly written in heaven, which Christ is the head of; and from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life; and of whom the Father said, "This is my beloved son, hear ye him;" and off from the world's worship, to the Spirit of God in the inward parts, that in it they might worship the Father, who seeks such to worship him.

Now he found also that the Lord forbade him to put off his hat to any man, high or low; and he was required to thou and thee every man and woman without distinction, and not to bid people good morrow or good evening; neither might he bow or scrape with his leg to any one. This was such an unusual thing with people, that it made many of all persuasions and professions rage against him; but by the assistance of the Lord, he was carried over all, and many came to be his fellow-believers, and turned to God in a little time; although it is almost unspeakable what rage and fury arose, what blows, pinchings, beatings, and imprisonments they underwent, besides the danger they were sometimes in of losing their lives for these matters: so indiscreet is man in his natural state. For here it did not avail to say, that the hat-honour was an honour from below, which the Lord would lay in the dust, and stain it; that it was an honour which the proud looked for, without seeking the honour which came from God alone; that it was an honour invented by men in the fall, who therefore were offended if it were not given them; though they would be looked upon as church members, and good Christians; whereas Christ himself said, "How can ye believe, who receive honour of one another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?"

That it was an honour, which in relation to the outward ceremony, viz, the putting off the hat, was the same which was given to God; so that in the outward sign of reverence, no distinction, or difference was made betwixt the creator and the creature; nay, that the saying of 'you' to a single person, went yet a degree further; for not only kings and princes formerly among the Heathens and Jews, had not been offended at it when they were thee'd and thou'd, but experience shewed that this still was the language wherewith God was daily spoken to, both in religious assemblies, and without. But all these reasons found little entrance with priests, magistrates, and others: bitter revilings, ill usage, and shameful abuses, were now become the lot and share of those who for conscience-sake could no longer follow the ordinary custom: for though it was pretended that the putting off of the hat was but a small thing, which none ought to scruple; yet it was a wonderful thing to see what great disturbance this pretended small matter caused among people of all sorts; so that even such that would be looked upon as those that practised humility and meekness, soon showed what spirit they were of when this worldly honour was denied them. But all this served to strengthen the fellow-believers more and more in their plain carriage, and made them live up faithfully to the conviction of their conscience, without respect of persons.

In the mean-while the troubles of the land continued. We left the king in the foregoing year in the Isle of Wight, in effect unkinged. Some time after, the duke of York, second son to the king, being then past fourteen years of age, fled to Holland, disguised in woman's apparel; and his eldest brother the prince of Wales, who two years before fled to France, came now to Helvoetsluys in Holland, and went from thence with some English men-of-war, whose commanders were for the king, to the Downs in England, with intention to take the ships coming from London. He also published, by the spreading of a declaration, that he came to release his father. Now there was also a negociation on foot between the king and the parliament, and there seemed some hopes of an accommodation; had not the army, the chief instrument in breaking down the royal power, opposed it, by calling for justice against all those who had wronged the country, none excepted. This broke off the treaty, several suspected members were turned out of the parliament, and the king was carried to Windsor about the time called Christmas; and it was resolved henceforth to send no more deputations to him, nor receive any from him, who now was no more named king, but only Charles Stuart: a very strange turn of mundane affairs, and a mighty evidence of the fluctuating inconstancy thereof. But things made no stand here, for it was concluded to bring him to a trial; and the parliament appointed general Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver

Cromwell, lieutenant-general, with more than an hundred other persons, to be his judges. These being formed into a court of justice, the king was conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and from thence brought before them in Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned as guilty of high treason, for having levied war against the parliament and people of England. But he, not owning that court to be lawful, nor acknowledging their authority, said, 'I am not intrusted by the people, they are mine by inheritance:' and being unwilling to answer to the charge, he was on the 27th of the month, called January, sentenced to death, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy to the Commonwealth. But before his sentence was pronounced, the king desired that he might be permitted to make a proposition to both houses of parliament in the painted chamber, designing as was since said, to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son, the prince of Wales, to the throne. But this request was denied by the court. Now, though the said prince of Wales, considering his father's danger, had applied himself to the States-General of the United Provinces at the Hague for assistance; and that these sent two ambassadors to the parliament, who coming to London on the same day the fatal sentence was pronounced, could not obtain admission till next day to the Speakers of both houses, and were afterwards with Fairfax and Cromwell, and other commanders; and one of them had also his audience in the parliament to intercede with them for the king's life; yet all proved in vain: for on the 30th of the aforesaid month, the king was brought on a scaffold erected before the banqueting house, and his head severed from his body. The same day the parliament ordered a declaration to be published, whereby it was declared treason to endeavour to promote the prince of Wales, Charles Stuart, to be king of England, or any other single person to be the chief governor thereof. And then, after having abolished the house of peers, they assumed to themselves the chief government of the nation, with the title of, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

The news of the king's death was no sooner come into Scotland, but Charles, prince of Wales, was proclaimed, at Edinburgh, king of Great Britain, provided he should, before assuming the royal authority, give satisfaction about some matters concerning religion. And though this displeased the English, yet the Scots asserted that they might as well do so, as the English, who had done the same at the death of the late king's father, in the year 1625.

Leaving state affairs, let us return to G. Fox, who in the year 1649, was much exercised to declare openly against all sorts of sins: and therefore he went not only to the courts, crying for justice, and exhorting the judges and justices to do justice, but he

warned also those that kept public houses for entertainment, not to let people have more drink than what would do them good. He also testified against wakes, May-games, plays, and shows, by which people were led into vanity, and drawn off from the fear of God ; the days that were set forth for holidays, being usually the times wherein God was most dishonoured. When he came into markets, he also declared against deceitful merchandizing, and warned all to deal justly, and to speak the truth ; and he testified against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages : and when occasion offered, he warned schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach their children to mind the fear of the Lord ; saying, that they themselves ought to be examples and patterns of virtue to them. But very burdensome it was to him, when he heard the bell ring to call people together to the steeple-house ; for it seemed to him just like a market-bell, to gather the people, that the priest might set forth his ware to sale.

Going once on a first-day of the week, in the morning, with some of his friends to Nottingham, to have a meeting there ; and having seen from the top of a hill the great steeple-house of the town, he felt it required of him to cry against that idol temple, and the worshippers therein : yet he said nothing of this to those that were with him, but went on with them to the meeting, where after some stay he left them, and went away to the steeple-house, where the priest took for his text these words of the apostle, 2 Pet. i. 19. “ We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.” And he told the people that this was the Scripture, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. G. Fox hearing this, felt such mighty power, and godly zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out, ‘ O no, it is not the scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried. That was it which led into all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star, and persecuted him and his apostles ; though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the scriptures ; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost.’ Thus speaking, the officers came and took him away, and put him into a nasty stinking prison. At night he was brought before the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the town ; and they examining him, he told them, that the Lord had moved him to come there into the steeple-house : and though the mayor at first appeared peevish and fretful, yet he was allayed : however, after some discourse, G. Fox was sent back to prison. But some time after, the head sheriff, John Reckless, sent for him

to his house, and when G. Fox came in, the sheriff's wife met him in the hall, and taking him by the hand, said, 'Salvation is come to our house : ' for his speech in the steeple-house had so amazed many, that they could not get the sound of it out of their ears ; and not only this woman was wrought upon, but also her husband, children, and servants were much changed by the power of the Lord.

George Fox thus coming to lodge at this sheriff's house, had great meetings there, and some persons of quality in the world came to them ; and they were reached very eminently in their minds by an invisible power. Reckless being of this number, sent for the other sheriff, and for a woman they traded with ; and he told her in the presence of the other sheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her, and that therefore they ought to make her restitution ; to which Reckless exhorted the other sheriff, being himself made sensible, that this was an indispensable duty ; for a mighty change was now wrought in him, and his understanding came to be opened ; so that on the next market day, as he was walking with G. Fox in the chamber, in his slippers, he said, ' I must go into the market and preach repentance to the people : ' and accordingly he went in his slippers into the market, and into several streets, preaching repentance. Some others also in the town were moved to speak to the mayor and magistrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent. But this the magistrates could not endure : and to vent their passion on G. Fox, they sent for him from the sheriff's house, and committed him to the common prison, where he was kept till the assizes came on, and then he was to have been brought before the judge, but that the sheriff's man being somewhat long in fetching him, the judge was risen before G. Fox came to the session-house ; however, the judge was a little displeased, having said, He would have admonished the youth (meaning G. Fox) if he had been brought before him. So he was carried back again to prison. In the meanwhile such a wonderful power broke forth among his friends, that many were astonished at it, so that even several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord. Now, though the people began to be very rude, yet the governor of the castle was so moderate, that he sent down soldiers to disperse them. G. Fox having been kept prisoner a pretty long time, was at length set at liberty, and then travelled as before in the work of the Lord.

Coming to Mansfield-Woodhouse, he found there a distracted woman under a doctor's hand, being bound, and with her hair loose ; and the doctor being about to let her blood, could get no blood from her ; which made G. Fox desire to unbind her ; and after this was done, he spoke to her, and bade her in the name of the Lord, to be quiet and still. This proved of such effect that

she became still; and her mind coming to be settled, she mended, and afterwards received the doctrine of truth, and continued in it to her death.

Whilst G. Fox was in this place, he was moved to go to the steeple-house, and declare there the truth to the priest and the people; which doing, the people fell upon him, and struck him down, almost smothering him, for he was cruelly beaten and bruised with their hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they haled him out, though hardly able to stand, and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours: and they brought horse-whips, threatening to whip him. After some time they had him before the magistrates, at a knight's house; who seeing how ill he had been used, set him at liberty, after much threatening. But the rude multitude stoned him out of the town; and though he was scarce able to go, yet with much ado he got about a mile from the town, where he met with some people that gave him something to comfort him, because he was inwardly bruised. But it pleased the Lord soon to heal him again; and some people were that day convinced of the truth which had been declared by him in the steeple-house, at which he rejoiced.

Out of Nottinghamshire he went into Leicestershire, accompanied by several of his friends; and coming to Barrow, discoursed with some Baptists; and one of them saying, What was not of faith was sin; he asked What faith was, and how it was wrought in man: but they turning off from that, spoke of their water-baptism; which gave occasion to G. Fox and his friends, to ask who baptised John the Baptist, and who baptised Peter, John, and the rest of the apostles? But they were silent at those questions. After some other discourse they parted. On the next First-day of the week, G. Fox, and those that were with him, came to Bagworth, and went to a steeple-house; and after the priest had done, they had some service there by speaking to the people.

Passing from thence, he heard of a people that were in prison in Coventry for religion: and as he was walking towards the gaol, the word of the Lord (as he relates) came to him, saying, 'My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' By this he was overcome with a sense of the love of God, and much strengthened in his inward man. But coming into the gaol, a great power of darkness struck at him; for instead of meeting such as were imprisoned for religion, he found them to be blasphemers, who were come to that degree, that they said they were gods; and this their wicked opinion they endeavoured to maintain by Scripture, misapplying what was said to the apostle Peter, when the sheet was let down to him, viz. 'What was sanctified, he should not call common or unclean:' and the words of the apostle Paul, concerning 'God's reconciling all things to himself,

things in heaven, and things on earth.' G. Fox was greatly grieved at this profaneness, told them that these Scriptures were nothing to their purpose; and seeing they said they were gods, he asked them if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow; and they saying they could not tell, he told them God could tell. He asked them also if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change; and they answering that they could not tell, G. Fox told them that God could tell it, and that he did not change. This confounded them, and brought them down for that time; so after having reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, he went away. Not long after this, one of these ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, gave forth a book of recantation, upon which they were set at liberty. From Coventry, G. Fox went to Atherstone, where, going into the chapel, he declared to the priests and the people, that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all their man-made teachers to hear his Son. And though some few raged, yet they were generally pretty quiet, and some were convinced.

After this service, he went to Market-Bosworth, and coming into the public place of worship, he found Nathaniel Stevens preaching, who, as hath been said already, was priest of the town where G. Fox was born; here G. Fox taking occasion to speak, Stevens told the people he was mad, and that they should not hear him; though he had said before to one colonel Purfoy concerning him, that there was never such a plant bred in England. The people now being stirred up by this priest, fell upon G. Fox and his friends, and stoned them out of the town. Nevertheless this wrought on the minds of some others, so that they were made loving.

G. Fox now travelling on, came to Twy-Cross, where he spoke to the excisemen, and warned them to take heed of oppressing the poor. There being in that town a great man, that had long lain sick, and was given over by the physicians, he went to visit him in his chamber; and after having spoken some words to him, he was moved to pray by his bed-side; and the Lord was entreated, so that the sick man was restored to health. But G. Fox being come down, and speaking to some that were in a room there, a servant came with a naked rapier in his hand, and threatened to stab him; but he looking stedfastly on the man, said, 'Alack for thee, poor creature! What wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon? It is no more to me than a straw.' He being stopped thus, went away in a rage, and his master hearing of it turned him out of his service, and was afterwards very loving to Friends; and when G. Fox came to that town again, both he and his wife came to see him.

After this he went into Derbyshire, where his fellow-believers

increased in godly strength; and coming to Chesterfield, he found one Britland to be priest there, who having been partly convinced of the doctrine of truth, had spoken much in behalf of it, and saw beyond the common sort of priests. But when the priest of that town died, he got the parsonage. G. Fox now speaking to him and the people, endeavoured to bring them off from man's teaching, unto God's teaching; and though the priest was not able to gainsay, yet they had him before the mayor, and threatened to send him to the house of correction: but when it was late in the night, the officers and the watchmen led him out of the town.

Concerning state affairs it hath been said already, that Charles II. had been proclaimed king by the Scots; but he being still in Holland they sent to him there, that he would subscribe the Covenant, and so abrogate Episcopacy in Scotland: it was also desired that he would put some lords from him. But those that were sent, received only an answer from the young king in general terms, which made them return home again, where we will leave them, to see in the meanwhile how it went with G. Fox, who having been sent away, as hath been said, from Chesterfield, came to Derby in the year 1650, and lay at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced of the truth he preached. Now it happened, as he was walking there in his chamber, he heard the bell ring, and asked the woman of the house what the bell rung for. She told him, there was to be a great lecture that day; so that many of the officers of the army, and priests and preachers were to be there, as also a colonel that was a preacher. Then he felt himself moved to go to that congregation; and when the service was done, he spoke to them what he believed the Lord required of him; and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer, who took him by the hand, and said, that he, and the other two that were with him, must go before the magistrates. Coming then about the first hour in the afternoon before them, they asked him, why he came thither; to which having answered, that God had moved him to it; he farther said, that God did not dwell in temples made with hands; and that all their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices, would never sanctify them; but that they ought to look unto Christ in them, and not unto men; because it is Christ that sanctifies. They then running into many words, he told them, they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him. But this doctrine did so displease them, that they often put him in and out of the room, and sometimes told him scoffingly, that he was taken up in raptures. At last they asked him, whether he was sanctified; and he answering, yes; they then asked, if he had no sin; to which he said, 'Christ my Saviour has taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin.' Then he and his friends were asked, how they knew that Christ did abide in

them; G. Fox said, 'By his Spirit, that he has given us.' Then they temptingly asked, if any of them was Christ; but he answered, 'Nay, we are nothing, Christ is all.' At length they also asked, if a man steal, is it no sin; to which he answered with the words of Scripture, 'All unrighteousness is sin.' So when they had wearied themselves in examining him, they committed him and another man, to the house of correction in Derby, for six months, as blasphemers, as appears by the following mittimus.

To the Master of the House of Correction in Derby, greeting.

We have sent you herewithal the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield in the county of Nottingham; and John Fretwell, late of Stanesby in the county of Derby, husbandman, brought before us this present day, and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions, contrary to a late Act of Parliament, which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you, forthwith upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell into your custody, and them therein safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 30th day of October, 1650.

GER. BENNET,
NATH. BARTON.

George Fox being thus, as hath been said, locked up, the priests bestirred themselves in their pulpits to preach up sin for term of life; and they endeavoured to persuade people that it was an erroneous doctrine, to assert a possibility of being freed from sin in this life, as was held forth by the Quakers; for this began now to be the name whereby G. Fox's fellow-believers were called in a reviling way: and since that denomination hath continued to them from that time downward, we cannot therefore pass by the first rise of it with silence. Until this time those who professed the light of Christ as shining in man's heart, and reproving for sin, were not improperly called professors of the Light, or children of the Light: but Gervas Bennet, one of the justices of the peace who signed the aforesaid mittimus, and an Independent, hearing that G. Fox bade him, and those about him, tremble at the word of the Lord! took hold of this weighty saying with such an airy mind, that from thence he took occasion to call him and his friends, scornfully, QUAKERS. This new and unusual denomination was taken up so eagerly, and spread so among the people, that not only the priests there from that time gave no other

name to the professors of the light, but sounded it so gladly abroad, that it soon run over all England; and making no stand there, it quickly reached to the neighbouring countries, and adjacent kingdoms, insomuch, that the said professors of the light, for distinction sake from other religious societies, have been called every where by that English name, which sounding very odd in the ears of some foreign nations, hath also given occasion to many silly stories.

Now because in those early times, among the many adherents of this persuasion, there were some that having been people of a rude and dissolute life, came so to be pricked to the heart, that they grew true penitents, with real sorrow for their former transgressions; it happened that they at meetings did not only burst out into tears, but also were affected with such a singular commotion of the mind, that some shakings of their bodies were perceived; some people naturally being more affected with the passions of the mind, than others: for even anger doth transport some men so violently, that it makes them tremble; whereas others will quake with fear: and what wonder then, if some being struck with the terrors of God did tremble? But this being seen by envious men, they took occasion from thence to tell, that these professors of the light performed their worship with shaking; yet they themselves never asserted that trembling of the body was an essential part of their religion, but have occasionally said the contrary; though they did not deny themselves to be such as trembled before God; and they also did not stick to say, that all people ought to do so; however thereby not enjoining a bodily shaking.

We have seen just now, how one Fretwell was committed with G. Fox to the house of correction; but he not standing faithful in his testimony, obtained, by intercession of the gaoler, leave of the justice to go see his mother, and so got his liberty: and then a report was spread, that he had said, that G. Fox had bewitched and deceived him.

G. Fox was now become the object of many people's hatred; magistrates, priests, and professors were all in a rage against him; and the gaoler, to find something wherewith to ensnare him, would sometimes ask him such silly questions, as, whether the door were latched or not; thinking thereby to draw some sudden unadvised answer from him, whereby he might charge sin upon him: but he was kept so watchful and circumspect, that they could get no advantage of him. Not long after his commitment, he was moved to write both to the priests and magistrates of Derby.

Now since G. Croese in the beginning of his history, represents G. Fox as one altogether unfit, not only to write legibly, but also to express his mind clearly in writing, and that therefore he always was obliged to employ others that could set down his meaning intelligibly, it will not be beside the purpose to say, that

this is more than any will be able to prove. For though it cannot be denied that he was no elegant writer, nor good speller, yet it is true, that his characters being tolerable, his writing was legible, and the matter he treated of was intelligible, though his style was not like that of a skilful linguist. And albeit he employed others, because himself was no quick writer, yet generally they were young lads, who as they durst not have attempted to alter his words and phrases, so they would not have been skilful enough to refine his style. This I do not write from hearsay, but have seen it at sundry times. And how true it is what the same author says, that mostly all that G. Fox did write, was scarce any thing besides a rough collection of several Scripture places, may be seen by the sequel of this history, wherein will be found many of his writings. The first of his letters I meet with is the following, which he wrote to the priests of Derby, from the house of correction, where certainly he had not the convenience of a writing clerk.

‘ O Friends, I was sent unto you to tell you, that if you had received the gospel freely, you would minister it freely without money or price : but you make a trade and sale of what the prophets and apostles have spoken ; and so you corrupt the truth. And you are the men, that lead silly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth : you have a form of godliness, but you deny the power. Now, as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do you resist the truth ; being men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you shall proceed no farther ; for your folly shall be made manifest to all men, as theirs was. Moreover, the Lord sent me to tell you, that he doth look for fruits. You asked me, if the Scripture was my rule : but it is not your rule, to rule your lives by, but to talk of in words. You are the men that live in pleasures, pride, and wantonness, in fulness of bread and abundance of idleness : see if this be not the sin of Sodom. Lot received the angels ; but Sodom was envious. You show forth the vain nature : you stand in the steps of them that crucified my Saviour, and mocked him : you are their children : you show forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the assemblies ; and so have you : they loved to be called Rabbi ; and so do you.’

G. F.

That which he writ to the magistrates who committed him to prison, was to this effect :

‘ Friends,

‘ I am forced, in tender love unto your souls, to write unto you, and to beseech you to consider what you do, and what the commands of God call for. He doth require justice and mercy, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free. But who

calleth for justice, or loveth mercy, or contendeth for the truth? Is not judgment turned backward, and doth not justice stand afar off? Is not truth silenced in the streets, or can equity enter? And do not they that depart from evil, make themselves a prey? Oh! consider what ye do in time, and take heed whom ye do imprison: for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. Now, I intreat you in time take heed what you do; for surely the Lord will come, and will make manifest both the builders and the work: and if it be of man, it will fail; but if it be of God, nothing will overthrow it. Therefore I desire and pray, that you would take heed, and beware what you do, lest ye be found fighters against God.

G. F.'

George Fox having thus cleared his conscience, continued waiting in patience, leaving the event to God. And after some time he felt himself constrained to write to the justices that had committed him to prison, to lay their doings before them, that so they might come to a due consideration thereof: one of them (already mentioned) was justice Bennet, the other Nathaniel Barton, both a justice and a colonel, as also a preacher: to these he wrote as follows:

' Friends,

' You did speak of the good old way, which the prophet spake of; but the prophet cried against the abominations which you hold up. Had you the power of God, ye would not persecute the good way. He that spake of the good way was set in the stocks: the people cried, Away with him to the stocks, for speaking the truth. Ah! foolish people, which have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, without understanding! 'Fear ye not me, saith the Lord, will ye not tremble at my presence!'* O your pride and abominations are odious in the eyes of God! you (that are preachers) have the chiefest place in the assemblies, and are called of men Master; and such were and are against my Saviour and Maker: and they shut up the kingdom of heaven from men, neither go in themselves, nor suffer others. Therefore, ye shall receive the greater damnation, who have their places, and walk in their steps. You may say, if you had been in the days of the prophets, or Christ, ye would not have persecuted them; wherefore be ye witnesses against yourselves, that ye are the children of them, seeing, ye now persecute the way of truth. O consider, there is a true Judge, that will give every one of you a reward according to your works. O mind where you are, you that hold up the abominations which the true prophet cried against! O come down, and sit in the dust! The Lord is coming with power; and

* Jer. v. 12.

he will throw down every one that is exalted, that he alone may be exalted.'

Having thus written to them jointly, he, after some time, wrote to each of them apart. That to justice Bennet was thus:

' Friend,

' Thou that dost profess God and Christ in words, see how thou dost follow him. To take off burdens, and to visit them that be in prison, and show mercy, and clothe thy own flesh, and deal thy bread to the hungry; these are God's commandments: to relieve the fatherless, and to visit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep thyself unspotted of the world; this is pure religion before God. But if thou dost profess Christ, and followest covetousness, and greediness, and earthly-mindedness, thou deniest him in life, and deceivest thyself and others, and takest him for a cloak. Woe be to you, greedy men, and rich men, weep and howl for your misery that shall come. Take heed of covetousness and extortion, God doth forbid that. Woe be to the man that coveteth an evil covetousness, that he may set his nest on high, and cover himself with thick clay. O do not love that which God forbids: his servant thou art whom thou dost obey, whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one fared sumptuously every day; the other was a beggar. See, if thou be not Dives. Be not deceived; God is not mocked with vain words: evil communication corrupteth good manners. Awake to righteousness, and sin not.'

G. F.

And that to justice Barton was thus worded:

' Friend,

' Thou that preachest Christ and the Scriptures in words, when any come to follow that which thou hast spoken of, and to live the life of the Scriptures, then they that speak the Scriptures, but do not lead their lives according thereunto, persecute them that do. Mind the prophets, and Jesus Christ, and his apostles, and all the holy men of God; what they spake was from the life: but they that had not the life, but the words, persecuted and imprisoned them that lived in the life, which they had backslidden from.'

G. F.

Now, though the mayor of Derby did not sign the mittimus, yet having had a hand with the rest in sending G. Fox to prison, he also writ to him after this manner:

' Friend,

' Thou art set in place to do justice; but in imprisoning my

body, thou hast done contrary to justice, according to your own law. O take heed of pleasing men more than God, for that is the way of the Scribes and Pharisees : they sought the praise of men more than God. Remember who said, 'I was a stranger, and ye took me not in ; I was in prison, and ye visited me not.' O friend, thy envy is not against me, but against the power of truth. I had no envy to you, but love. O take heed of oppression, for the day of the Lord is coming, that shall burn as an oven ; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, shall be as stubble : and the day that cometh, shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts ; it shall leave them neither root nor branch. O friend, if the love of God were in thee, thou wouldst love the truth, and hear the truth spoken, and not imprison unjustly ; the love of God beareth, and suffereth, and envieth no man. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would show mercy ; but you do show forth what ruleth you. Every tree doth show forth its fruit : you do show forth your fruits openly. For drunkenness, swearing, pride, and vanity, rule among you, from the teacher to the people. O friend ! mercy, and true judgment, and justice, are cried for in your streets. Oppression, unmercifulness, cruelty, hatred, pride, pleasures, wantonness, and fulness, is in your streets ; but the poor is not regarded. O take heed of the woe : woe be to the crown of pride ! woe be to them that drink wine in bowls, and the poor is ready to perish. O remember Lazarus and Dives : one fared deliciously every day ; and the other was a beggar. O friend, mind these things, for they are near, and see ; whether thou be not the man, that is in Dives's state.'

To those of the court at Derby, he also wrote the following exhortation :

'I am moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppressing the poor in your courts, or laying burdens upon poor people, which they cannot bear : and of false oaths, or making them to take oaths, which they cannot perform. The Lord saith, I will come near to judgment, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, against the false swearers, and against the idolaters, and against those that do oppress widows and fatherless. Therefore, take heed of all these things betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true and righteous, and he delighteth in mercy : so love mercy, dear people, and consider in time.'

And because the ringing of bells for joy, is a thing generally tending to stir up vanity and immorality, he also wrote a few lines to the bell-ringers of the steeple-house, called St. Peter's, in Derby.

‘ Friends,
‘ Take heed of pleasures, and prize your time now, while you have it ; and do not spend it in pleasures, nor earthliness. The time may come, that you will say, you had time, when it is past : therefore look at the love of God now, while you have time ; for it bringeth to loathe all vanities and worldly pleasures ! O consider ! time is precious : fear God, and rejoice in him, who hath made heaven and earth.’

Whilst G. Fox was in prison there, several of the professors came to discourse with him, and he perceiving that they came to plead for sin and imperfection, asked them, Whether they were believers, and had faith : and they saying ‘ Yes,’ he further asked them, ‘ In whom ?’ to which they answering, ‘ In Christ ;’ he replied, ‘ If ye are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life ; and if passed from death, then from sin that bringeth death. And if your faith be true, it will give you victory over sin and the devil, and purify your hearts and consciences, (for the true faith is held in a pure conscience) it will bring you to please God, and give you access to him again.’ But such language as this they could not endure ; for they said, they could not believe that any could be free from sin on this side the grave. To which he answered, That then they might give over their talking concerning the Scriptures, which were the words of holy men ; whilst they themselves pleaded for unholiness. At another time, another company of such professors came, and they also pleading for sin, he asked them, Whether they had hope : To which they answered, ‘ Yes, God forbid but we should have hope.’ Then he asked, ‘ What hope is it you have ? Is Christ in you, the hope of your glory ? Doth it purify you, as he is pure ?’ But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here ; and, therefore, he bade them ‘ forbear talking of the Scriptures, which were the holy men’s words ; for the holy men that writ the Scriptures’ (said he) ‘ pleaded for holiness in heart, life, and conversation here ; but since you plead for impurity and sin, which is of the devil, what have you to do with holy men’s words ?’

Now, the keeper of the prison, who was also an high professor, was much enraged against G. Fox, and spoke wickedly of him. But it pleased the Lord one day to strike him so, that he was under great anguish of mind : and G. Fox walking in his chamber, heard a doleful noise, and standing still to hearken, he heard him say to his wife, ‘ Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers, and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and alehouses.’ After this, towards the evening, the keeper came up into his chamber, and said to him, ‘ I have been as a lion against you ; but

now I come like a lamb ; and like the gaoler that came to Paul and Silas trembling.' And he desired that he might lie with him. To which G. Fox answered, That he was in his power, he might do what he would. But said the other, ' Nay, I will have your leave ; and I could desire to be always with you, but not to have you as a prisoner.' G. Fox, unwilling to deny his desire, complied with it, and suffered him to lie with him. Then the keeper told him all his heart, and said, he believed what he had said of the true faith and hope, to be true : and he wondered that the other man that was put in prison with him, did not stand to it ; for said he, ' That man was not right, but you are an honest man.' He also confessed, that at those times when G. Fox had asked him to let him go and speak the word of the Lord to the people, and at his refusal had laid the weight thereof upon him, that then he used to be under great trouble, amazed, and almost distracted for some time. The next morning the keeper went to the justices, and told them, that he and his house had been plagued for G. Fox's sake. To which one of the justices, viz. Bennet, said, That the plagues were on them too, for keeping him. The justices now to be rid of him, gave leave that he should have liberty to walk a mile. But he perceiving their end, told the gaoler, if they would set down to him how far a mile was, he might take the liberty of walking it sometimes ; for he believed they thought he would go away : and the gaoler told him afterwards, that this was their intent. But he signified to him, that he had no mind to get his liberty that way. And so he remained prisoner, and was visited by the gaoler's sister, who was so affected with what he spoke to her, that she coming down, told her brother, they were an innocent people, that did no hurt to any, but good to all ; and she desired that he might be treated civilly.

Now, since by reason of his restraint, he had not the opportunity of travelling about to declare the doctrine of truth, he, to discharge himself, wrote the following paper, and sent it forth for the opening of people's understandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themselves.

' The Lord doth show unto man his thoughts, and discovereth all the secret workings in man. A man may be brought to see his evil thoughts, and running mind, and vain imaginations, and may strive to keep them down, and to keep his mind in ; but cannot overcome them, nor keep his mind within to the Lord. Now, in this state and condition, submit to the Spirit of the Lord that shows them, and that will bring to wait upon the Lord ; and he that hath discovered them, will destroy them. Therefore, stand in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ (who is the author of the true faith) and mind him ; for he will discover the root of lusts, and evil thoughts, and vain imaginations, and how they are begotten, conceived and bred ; and then how they are brought forth, and

how every evil member doth work : he will discover every principle from its own nature and root.

‘ So mind the faith of Christ, and the anointing which is in you, to be taught by it, which will discover all workings in you ; and as he teacheth you, so obey and forsake ; else you will not grow up in the faith, nor in the life of Christ, where the love of God is received. Now love begetteth love, its own nature and image : and when mercy and truth do meet, what joy there is ! and mercy doth triumph in judgment, and love and mercy doth bear the judgment of the world in patience. That which cannot bear the world’s judgment, is not the love of God ; for love beareth all things, and is above the world’s judgment ; for the world’s judgment is but foolishness. And though it be the world’s judgment and practice, to cast all the world’s filthiness, that is among themselves, upon the saints ; yet their judgment is false. Now the chaste virgins follow Christ the Lamb, that takes away the sins of the world ; but they that are of that spirit which is not chaste, will not follow Christ the Lamb in his steps ; but are disobedient to him in his commands. So the fleshly mind doth mind the flesh, and talketh fleshly, and its knowledge is fleshly, and not spiritual ; but savours of death, and not of the spirit of life. Now some men have the nature of swine, wallowing in the mire : and some men have the nature of dogs, to bite both the sheep and one another : and some men have the nature of lions, to tear, devour, and destroy : and some men have the nature of wolves, to tear and devour the lambs of the sheep of Christ : and some men have the nature of the serpent (that old adversary) to sting, envenom, and poison. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear, and learn these things, within himself. And some men have the natures of other beasts and creatures, minding nothing, but earthly and visible things, and feeding without the fear of God. Some men have the nature of a horse, to prance and vapour in their strength, and to be swift in doing evil. And some men have the nature of tall sturdy oaks, to flourish and spread in wisdom and strength, who are strong in evil, which must perish and come to the fire. Thus the evil is but one in all, but worketh many ways ; and whatsoever a man’s or woman’s nature is addicted to, that is outward, the evil one will fit him with that, and will please his nature and appetite, to keep his mind in his inventions, and in the creatures from the Creator. O, therefore, let not the mind go forth from God ; for if it do, it will be stained, and venommed, and corrupted : and if the mind go forth from the Lord, it is hard to bring it in again. Therefore, take heed of the enemy, and keep in the faith of Christ. O, therefore, mind that which is eternal and invisible, and him who is the Creator and Mover of all things ; for the things that are made, are not made of things that do appear ; for the visible covereth the invisible sight in you. But as the Lord, who is invisible, doth open you by his invisible

power and spirit, and brings down the carnal mind in you ; so the invisible and immortal things are brought to light in you. O, therefore, you that know the light, walk in the light ! for there are children of darkness, that will talk of the light, and of the truth, and not walk in it ; but the children of the light love the light, and walk in the light. But the children of darkness walk in darkness, and hate the light ; and in them the earthly lusts, and the carnal mind choke the seed of faith, and that bringeth oppression on the seed, and death over them. O, therefore, mind the pure Spirit of the everlasting God, which will teach you to use the creatures in their right place ; and which judgeth the evil. ‘ To thee, O God, be all glory and honour, who art Lord of all visibles and invisibles ! to thee be all praise, who bringest out of the deep to thyself, O powerful God, who art worthy of all glory !’ for the Lord who created all, and gives life and strength to all, is over all, and merciful to all. ‘ So thou, who hast made all, and art over all, to thee be all glory ; in thee is my strength, refreshments, and life, my joy and my gladness, my rejoicing and glorying for evermore !’ So to live and walk in the Spirit of God, is joy, and peace, and life ; but the mind going forth into the creatures, or into any visible things from the Lord, this bringeth death. Now, when the mind is got into the flesh, and into death, then the accuser gets within, and the law of sin and death, that gets into the flesh ; and then the life suffers under the law of sin and death, and then there is straitness and failings. For then the good is shut up, and then the self-righteousness is set a-top ; and then man doth work in the outward law, and he cannot justify himself by the law ; but is condemned by the light ; for he cannot get out of that state, but by abiding in the light, and resting in the mercy of God, and believing in him, from whom all mercy doth flow : for there is peace in resting in the Lord Jesus. This is the narrow way that leads to him, the life ; but few will abide in it : therefore keep in the innocency, and be obedient to the faith in him. And take heed of conforming to the world, and of reasoning with flesh and blood, for that bringeth disobedience ; and then imaginations and questionings do arise, to draw from obedience to the truth of Christ. But the obedience of faith destroyeth imaginations, and questionings and reasonings, and all the temptations in the flesh, and buffetings, and lookings forth, and fetching up things that are past. But not keeping in the life and light, and not crossing the corrupt will by the power of God, the evil nature grows up in man ; and then burdens will come, and man will be stained with that nature. But Esau’s mountain shall be laid waste, and become a wilderness, where the dragons lie : but Jacob, the second birth, shall be fruitful, and shall arise ; for Esau is hated, and must not be lord ; but Jacob, the second birth, which is perfect and plain, shall be lord : for he is beloved of God.’

G. F.

About the same time he wrote to his friends the following paper :

‘ The Lord is King over all the earth ! therefore all people, praise and glorify your King in the true obedience, in the uprightness, and in the beauty of holiness. O consider, in the true obedience the Lord is known, and an understanding from him is received. Mark and consider in silence, in the lowliness of mind, and thou wilt hear the Lord speak unto thee in thy mind : his voice is sweet and pleasant ; his sheep hear his voice, and they will not hearken to another ; and when they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient ; they also sing for joy. Oh, their hearts are filled with everlasting triumph ! they sing, and praise the eternal God in Sion : their joy shall never man take from them. Glory be to the Lord God for evermore !’

And since many, that had been convinced of the truth, turned aside, because of the persecution that arose, he writ for the encouragement of the faithful, these lines :

‘ Come, ye blessed of the Lord, and rejoice together ; keep in unity and oneness of spirit ; triumph above the world ; be joyful in the Lord ; reigning above the world, and above all things that draw from the Lord ; that in clearness, righteousness, pureness, and joy, you may be preserved to the Lord. O hear, O hearken to the call of the Lord, and come out of the world, and keep out of it for evermore ! and come, sing together, ye righteous ones, the song of the Lord, the song of the Lamb ; which none can learn, but they who are redeemed from the earth, and from the world.’

Now while G. Fox was at Derby in the house of correction, his relations came to see him, and being sorry for his imprisonment, they went to the justices, by whose order he was put there, and desired that he might be released, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others in Derby in fifty pounds a piece with them, that he should no more come thither to declare against the priests. But he being brought before the justices, would not consent that any should be bound for him, because he believed himself to be innocent from any ill behaviour. Then justice Bennet rose up in a rage, and as G. Fox was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, Bennet ran upon him, and struck him with both his hands, crying, ‘ Away with him, gaoler ; take him away, gaoler.’ Whereupon he was carried back again to prison, and there kept, until the time of his commitment for six months was expired. But now he had liberty of walking a mile ; which he made use of, in his own freedom : and sometimes he

went into the market and streets, and warned the people to repentance. And on the First-days he now and then visited the prisoners in their religious meetings. But the justices having required sureties for his good behaviour, it came upon him to write to them again as followeth :

‘ Friends,

‘ See what it is in you that doth imprison ; and see, who is head in you ; and see, if something do not accuse you ? Consider you must be brought to judgment. Think upon Lazarus and Dives ; the one fared sumptuously every day ; the other a beggar ; and now you have time, prize it, while you have it. Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour ? I am bound to my good behaviour, and do cry for good behaviour of all people, to turn from the vanities, pleasures, and oppression, and from the deceits of this world ; and there will come a time, that you shall know it. Therefore take heed of pleasures, and deceits, and pride ; and look not at man, but at the Lord ; for look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved, said the Lord.’

Not long after he wrote to them again, thus :

‘ Friends,

‘ Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour from drunkenness, or swearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like ? The Lord hath redeemed me from all these things ; and the love of God hath brought me to loathe all wantonness, blessed be his name. They who are drunkards, and fighters, and swearers, have their liberty without bonds : and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you, nor any other can justly accuse of these things, praised be the Lord ! I look at no man for my liberty, but at the Lord alone ; who hath all mens’ hearts in his hand.’

And after some time, not finding his spirit clear of them, he wrote again as followeth :

‘ Friends,

‘ Had you known who sent me to you, ye would have received me ; for the Lord sent me to you, to warn you of the woes that are coming upon you ; and to bid you look at the Lord, and not at man. But when I had told you my experience, what the Lord had done for me, then your hearts were hardened, and you sent me to prison ; where you have kept me many weeks. If the love of God had broke your hearts, then would ye see what ye have done. Ye would not have imprisoned me, had not my Father suffered you ; and by his power I shall be loosed ; for he openeth and shutteth, to him be all glory ! In what have I misbehaved

myself, that any should be bound for me? All mens' words will do me no good, nor their bonds neither, to keep my heart, if I have not a guide within, to keep me in the upright life to God. But I believe in the Lord, that through his strength and power, I shall be preserved from ungodliness and worldly lusts. The Scripture saith, Receive strangers; but you imprison such. As you are in authority, take heed of oppression and oaths, and injustice and gifts, or rewards, for God doth loathe all such; but love mercy, and true judgment, and justice, for that the Lord delights in. I do not write with hatred to you, but to keep my conscience clear: take heed how you spend your time.'

To the priests of Derby he also wrote again in this manner:—

' Friends,

' You do profess to be the ministers of Jesus Christ in words, but you show forth by your fruits, what your ministry is. Every tree doth show forth its fruit: the ministry of Jesus Christ is in mercy and love, to unloose them that be bound, and to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are captivated, go free. Now friends, where is your example (if the Scriptures be your rule) to imprison for religion? Have you any command for it from Christ? If that were in you, which you do profess, you would walk in their steps, who spake forth those words, the Scriptures, which you do profess. But he is not a Jew, who is one outward, whose praise is of men; but he is a Jew, who is one inward, whose praise is of God. But if you do build upon the prophets and apostles in words, and pervert their life, remember the woes which Jesus Christ spake against such. They that spake the prophet's words, but denied Christ, they professed a Christ to come; but had they known him, they would not have crucified him. The saints, whom the love of God did change, were brought thereby to walk in love and mercy; for he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God. But where envy, pride, and hatred doth rule, the nature of the world doth rule, and not the nature of Jesus Christ. I write with no hatred to you, but that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you pass on your time.'

Having thus cleared his conscience to the priests, it was not long before a concern came upon him to write again to the justices, which he did as followeth:—

' I am moved to warn you to take heed of giving way to your own wills. Love the cross, and satisfy not your minds in the flesh; but prize your time while you have it, and walk up to that you know, in obedience to God; and then you shall not be condemned for that you know not, but for that you do know,

and do not obey. Consider betimes, and weigh yourselves, and see where you are, and whom you serve. For if ye blaspheme God, and take his name in vain; if ye swear and lie; if ye give way to envy, hatred, covetousness, and greediness, pleasures, and wantonness, or any other vices, be assured then, that ye do serve the devil; but if ye fear the Lord, and serve him, ye will loathe all these things. He that loveth God, will not blaspheme his name; but where there is opposing of God, and serving the devil, that profession is sad and miserable. O prize your time, and do not love that which God doth forbid; lying, wrath, malice, envy, hatred, greediness, covetousness, oppression, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, and all unrighteousness, God doth forbid. So consider, and be not deceived: evil communication corrupts good manners. Be not deceived, God will not be mocked with vain words: the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness. Therefore obey that which doth convince you of all evil, and telleth you, that you should do no evil: it will lead to repentance, and keep you in the fear of the Lord! O look at the mercies of God, and prize them, and do not turn them into wantonness. O eye the Lord, and not earthly things!

Besides this, he wrote the following to Nathaniel Barton, who, as was hinted before, was both a justice and a preacher.

‘ Friend,

‘ Do not cloak and cover thyself: there is a God who knoweth thy heart, and will uncover thee; he seeth thy way. Wo be to him that covereth, and not with my Spirit, saith the Lord. Dost thou do contrary to the law, and then put it from thee? Mercy, and true judgment thou neglectest: look what was spoken against such. My Saviour said to such, “ I was sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not; I was hungry and ye fed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in.” And when they said, When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee, &c.; he replied, “ Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these little ones, ye did it not to me.” Friend, thou hast imprisoned me for bearing witness to the life and power of truth; and yet professest to be a minister of Christ; but if Christ had sent thee, thou wouldst bring out of prison, and out of bondage, and wouldst receive strangers. Thou hast been wanton upon earth; thou hast lived plenteously, and nourished thy heart, as in a day of slaughter: thou hast killed the just. O look where thou art, and how thou hast spent thy time! O remember thyself, and now, while thou hast time, prize it, and do not slight the free mercy of God, and despise the long-suffering of God, which is great salvation; but mind that in thee, which doth convince thee, and would not let thee swear, nor

lie, nor take God's name in vain. Thou knowest thou shouldst do none of these things: thou hast learned that which will condemn thee; therefore obey the light, which doth convince thee, and forsake thy sins, and look at the mercies of God, and prize his love in sparing thee till now. The Lord saith, "look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved:" and "Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils." And friend, prize thy time, and see whom thou servest; for his servant thou art, whom thou dost obey, "Whether of sin unto death, or obedience unto righteousness." If thou servest God, and fearest him, thou wilt not blaspheme his name, nor curse, nor swear, nor take his name in vain; nor follow pleasures and wantonness, whoredom, and drunkenness, or wrath, or malice, or revenge, or rashness, or headiness, pride or gluttony, greediness, oppression, or covetousness, or foolish jesting, or vain songs; God doth forbid these things, and all unrighteousness. If thou professest God, and actest any of these things, thou takest him for a cloak, and servest the devil: consider with thyself, and do not love that which God doth hate. He that loveth God, keepeth his commandments. The devil will tell thee, it is a hard thing to keep God's commandments; but it is an easy thing to keep the devil's commandments, and to live in all unrighteousness and ungodliness, turning the grace of God into wantonness. "But let the unrighteous man forsake his ways, and turn unto me," saith the Lord, "and I will have mercy. Turn ye, why will ye die?" saith the Lord.

'Howl ye great ones, for the plagues are pouring out upon you! Howl ye oppressors, for recompence and vengeance is coming upon you! Wo unto them that covetously join one house to another, and bring one field so nigh unto another, that the poor can get no more ground, and that ye may dwell upon the earth alone: these things are in the ears of the Lord of Hosts. Wo unto him that covetously getteth ill-gotten goods into his house, that he may set his nest on high, to escape from the power of evil.'

It has been said already, that some of G. Fox's friends were moved, as well as he, to preach the doctrine of truth; and in this year it also happened, that Elizabeth Hooton, of whom mention hath been made before, from a true experience of the Lord's work in the soul, also felt herself moved publicly to preach the way of salvation to others, being the first woman preacher, by what I am informed, among those that began now generally to be called by the name of Quakers. Yet I have found in a Dutch book, printed at Dort, in the year 1647, and called, History of the Troubles in England concerning the various Sects risen there, that among other persuasions at London, there were also women that did preach in large meetings, and were heard by many with great satisfaction; so that the preaching of a woman was not such a novelty as otherwise it might have been.

In the foregoing year it hath been said, that some Scotch Commissioners having been with Charles II. in Holland, were returned to Scotland; and though the king at first seemed backward to consent to the Presbyterian Covenant, yet seeing no other way open to the Scottish throne, he came to other thoughts, and so went over to Scotland, and made his entry into Edinburgh, through the gate on which were placed the quarters of the earl of Montrose, who having endeavoured not long before to subdue the Scots, had been beaten with his forces, and, being taken prisoner, was executed. The young king being now come into Scotland, seemed willing to comply as much as he could, thereby to ingratiate himself, not only with the Scots, but also with the English, if possible; and in order thereunto, he gave forth a declaration at his Court at Dumfermling, dated the 16th day of August, 1650, and in the second year of his reign, as it is there said; in which declaration, I meet with the following words:—

‘ Though his majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father’s hearkening to evil counsels, and his opposition to the work of Reformation, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, (by which so much of the blood of the Lord’s people hath been shed in these kingdoms,) and for the idolatry of his mother.’

Here the king confessed openly, that his father’s house was guilty of great crimes, and plainly signified, that the nation indeed had been wronged by his father’s behaviour; and he seemed to promise amendment, if he came to be restored. In the mean while, they began to see in England, that the Scots were like to make head against them; and therefore they ordered to send General Fairfax with an army thither; but he showed himself unwilling to go, chiefly, as it was believed, by the advice of his wife, who hearkened to the counsel of the Presbyterian preachers; and these thought it would contribute to their own settlement, if those of their own persuasion in Scotland were not resisted. But the parliament, many of whose members were independents, did not matter that; but resolved, since Fairfax resigned voluntarily, to create Oliver Cromwell general of the national forces, in the room of Fairfax. Which being done, Cromwell was sent with an army to Scotland, and beat the Scots not far from Edinburgh, whereby that city not long after yielded to him.

In this year was born in Holland, on the 14th of the month called November, (N. S.) William the Third, prince of Orange, whose mother was daughter of the late king Charles the First. And this prince, by a strange revolution of human affairs, has since been advanced to the English throne; and is at present, whilst I write this, king of Great Britain, &c.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE year 1651 had scarce begun, when the Scots resolved, notwithstanding their overthrow, to crown their new king, which, after he had sworn to maintain the Covenant, they did in the beginning of the month called January. But leaving this, we return again to George Fox, whom we left at Derby, in the house of correction; where about this time a trooper came to him, who said, that having been in the steeple-house, hearing the priest, exceeding great trouble came upon him, and that a voice (which he took to be that of the Lord) said to him, ‘Dost thou not know that my servant is in prison? Go to him for direction.’ G. Fox speaking to his condition, told him, ‘That which showed him his sins, and troubled him for them, would also show him his salvation; because He that shows a man his sin, is the same that takes it away.’ Whilst he was thus speaking, the trooper’s understanding began to be opened concerning the truth, and he was sensible of God’s mercies, which made him speak boldly in his quarters among the soldiers, and others, alleging the Scriptures for what he now believed to be truth. He also said, his colonel (which I take to be Barton) was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to cast the servant of the Lord into prison. This so incensed his colonel, that, when at Worcester fight, the two armies lying near one another, two from the king’s army challenged any two of the parliament’s army to fight with them, the said colonel made choice of him and another to answer the challenge: and when in the encounter his companion was slain, he drove both his enemies within a musket-shot of the town, without firing a pistol at them. Thus he returned victorious; but then he saw the deceit of the officers, and how wonderfully the Lord had preserved him; and in process of time becoming sensible that fighting was unlawful for a true Christian, he laid down his arms, henceforth to fight under the banner of the Prince of Peace, by entering into the spiritual warfare.

Now the time of G. Fox’s commitment to the house of correction being very near out, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made him captain over them,

and the soldiers cried, 'They would have none but him.' So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring him up before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place; and there they proffered him that preferment, (as they called it,) asking him if he would not take up arms for the commonwealth, against Charles Stuart. G. Fox, never having been a fighter, though it has appeared he was bold and valiant, told them, 'That he could not do so, as well knowing from whence all wars do arise, (viz. from the lusts, according to the doctrine of the apostle James,) and that he lived in the virtue of that life and power, that took away the occasion of all wars.' The commissioners to fawn upon him, said, 'They offered him the office in love and kindness, because of his virtue.' But he not mattering those flattering words, replied, 'If this be your love and kindness, I trample it under my feet.' This bold answer presently showed how shallow their pretended kindness was; for it so enraged them, that they said, 'Take him away, gaoler, and put him into the dungeon amongst the rogues and felons.' Thus G. Fox was put into a lousy stinking place amongst thirty felons, where he had no bed, and was kept almost half a year, unless that at times he was suffered to walk in the garden, for they believed of him that he would not run away. Being in this nasty prison, it was said among the people, that he never should come out: but he, trusting in God, believed the contrary, it being showed him from the Lord (according to what he relates) that he was not yet to be removed from that place, there being a service for him to do.

In the meanwhile it was noised abroad, that he was in Derby dungeon, and his relations came again to see him, they being much troubled about it; for they thought it a great shame to them, that he should lie thus in gaol; besides, it was a strange thing then to be imprisoned for religion. But some judged him to be mad, because he maintained the doctrine of purity, righteousness, and perfection. Among others that came to see him, there was also a soldier from Nottingham, who said to him, 'Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem; and there was never any such thing.' This so grieved G. Fox, that he said to him, 'How! did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem, by the professing Jews, the chief priests, and Pilate?' 'No,' said the other, 'he did not suffer there outwardly.' Then G. Fox asked him, 'Whether there were not Jews, chief priests, and Pilate outwardly?' This puzzled the soldier a little, so that he could not deny it. Then he told him: 'As certainly as there was a chief priest, and Jews, and Pilate, so certainly Christ did suffer there outwardly under them.' Yet this inconsiderate person said also, 'That never any of the prophets or apostles, or holy men of God, suffered any thing outwardly; but that all their sufferings were inward.' Then G. Fox instanced to him many of

the prophets and apostles, how they suffered, and by whom they suffered, thereby to confound his silly imaginations. Yet such was the malice of some, that a slander was raised among the people, that the Quakers denied Christ that suffered and died at Jerusalem. This, indeed, is a singular evidence of the credulity of people taking upon trust any story, how false soever, when it relates to those that are become the object of vulgar odium. Now as G. Fox was often visited by those that came out of curiosity, it is not to be wondered, that sometimes he was contradicted by presumptuous and self-conceited persons. Once there came to him some that pretended they were triers of spirits; and these he asked, 'What was the first step to peace; and what it was by which a man might see his salvation.' But they being of an airy mind, took this to be such a strange question, that they did not stick to say he was mad. Thus it appeared, that these who pretended to try spirits, did not know what spirit they themselves were of, and that they had not sufficient knowledge to make a good judgment of the corporal constitution, saying he was mad, who was in no wise out of his senses.

In the time of his imprisonment, he was much exercised in mind about the proceedings of the magistrates, because men were put to death for stealing of cattle, money, &c. and he was the more troubled about it, because this practice was contrary to the law of God in old time. Wherefore he writ the following two letters to the judges.

'I am moved to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for stealing cattle, or money, &c. for the thieves in the old time were to make restitution; and if they had not wherewithal, they were to be sold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the Scriptures, and the Spirit that gave them forth; and let them be your rule in executing judgment; and show mercy, that you may receive mercy from God, the judge of all. And take heed of gifts and rewards, and of pride; for God doth forbid them, and they do blind the eyes of the wise. I do not write to give liberty to sin; God hath forbidden it: but that you should judge according to his laws, and show mercy; for he delighteth in true judgment, and in mercy. I beseech you to mind these things, and prize your time, now you have it; and fear God, and serve him; for he is a consuming fire.'

The other letter was thus:

'I am moved to write unto you, that ye do true justice to every man, and see that none be oppressed, nor wronged; nor no oaths imposed; for the land mourneth because of oaths, and adulteries, and sorceries, and drunkenness, and profaneness. O consider, ye

that be men set in authority : be moderate, and in lowliness consider these things. Show mercy to the fatherless, and to the widows, and to the poor : and take heed of rewards or gifts, for they do blind the eyes of the wise : the Lord doth loathe all such. Love mercy and true judgment, justice, and righteousness, for the Lord delighteth in such. Consider these things in time, and take heed how ye do spend your time : now ye have time, prize it, and show mercy, that ye may receive mercy from the Lord : for he is coming to try all things and will plead with all flesh, as by fire.'

Whilst G. Fox was in prison among the felons, it grieved him to hear their foul language ; and he often reprov'd them for their wicked words, and evil carriage towards each other : and people did admire that he was so preserved among this bad company, without being defiled by their conversation : but the fear of God so prevailed in his heart, that he could not be charged with any evil word or action all the time he was there : yet he perceived that it was dangerous to converse with such a naughty crew, and therefore he laid before the judges what a hurtful thing it was, that prisoners should lie long in a gaol, because they learned wickedness one of another, in talking of their bad deeds ; and that therefore speedy justice ought to be done.

Now whilst he was confined here, there was a young woman in the gaol for robbing her master of some money ; and she being to be tried for her life, he wrote concerning her to the judge and jury, showing them, how contrary it was to the law of God, of old, to put people to death for stealing ; and that it was an incumbent duty to show mercy. But notwithstanding his writing so, she was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her. G. Fox having heard this, writ a few words, containing, ' A warning for all people to beware of covetousness, and to fear the Lord, and prize their time, while they have it ; that so they might avoid wickedness : ' and when the woman, at the time appointed, was carried forth to execution, he gave this writing to be read at the gallows ; but when she was upon the ladder, with a cloth over her face, and ready to be turned off, she was reprieved, and was brought back again to prison, where afterwards she came to be convinced of the truth, as held forth by G. Fox and his friends.

In the gaol there was also detained a wicked man, who was said to be a conjuror : this man threatened G. Fox, and also the gaoler, that he would raise the devil, and break the house down ; so that he made the gaoler afraid. But G. Fox went to him, and said, ' Come, let us see what thou canst do, and do thy worst : the devil is raised high enough in thee already ; but the power of God chains him down.' At this undaunted speech the fellow slunk away.

Now the justices, to get rid of G. Fox, resolv'd to press him for

a soldier, seeing he would not voluntarily accept of a command ; and Bennet sent constables to give him press-money : but he told him, 'That he was brought off from outward war, and was dead to it.' And though the commissioners over and again proffered him money, yet he would not take it ; at which they grew so angry, that he was committed close prisoner. Hereupon G. Fox wrote to the justices, and those that were concerned in his commitment, the following lines :—

'You, who are without Christ, and yet use the words which he and his saints have spoken, consider, neither he nor his apostles did ever imprison any ; but my Saviour is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He doth bring out of prison and bondage ; but men, while the carnal mind doth rule, do oppress and imprison. My Saviour saith, " Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you : " for the love of God doth not persecute any ; but loveth all, where it dwelleth : " he that hateth his brother, is a murderer." You profess to be Christians, and one of you a minister of Jesus Christ, yet you have imprisoned me who am a servant of Jesus Christ. The apostles never imprisoned any ; but were imprisoned themselves : take heed of speaking of Christ in words, and denying him in life and power. O friends, the imprisoning my body is to satisfy your wills ; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts, ye would not have imprisoned me ; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow-creatures : and that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you stand, is this written.'

About this time he gave forth a paper to those that were convinced of the truth, to show them the deceit of the world, and how the priests had deceived the people, viz.

'Christ was ever hated ; and the righteous, for his sake. Mind who they were that did ever hate them. He that was born after the flesh, did persecute him that was born after the Spirit ; and so it is now. And mind who were the chiefest against Christ ; even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers and teachers, that did profess the law and the prophets, and looked for Christ ; they looked for an outwardly glorious Christ, to hold up their outward glory ; but Christ spake against the works of the world ; and against the priests, and scribes, and pharisees, and their hypocritical profession. He that is a stranger to Christ, is an hireling ; but the servants of Jesus Christ are freemen. The false teachers always laid burdens upon the people ; and the true servants of the Lord did speak against them. Jeremiah did speak against hirelings, and said, " it was a horrible thing ; " and said, " What

will ye do in the end?" for the people and priests were given to covetousness. Paul did speak against such as did make gain upon the people; and exhorted the saints to turn away from such as were covetous men and proud men, such as did love pleasures more than God; such as had a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof. "For of this sort (said he) are they that creep into houses, and lead captive silly women, who are ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith; and as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so (saith he) do these resist the truth; but they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be made manifest unto all men." Moses forsook honours and pleasures, which he might have enjoyed. The apostle in his time saw this corruption entering, which now is spread over the world, of having a form of godliness, but denying the power. Ask any of your teachers, whether you may ever overcome your corruptions and sins. None of them doth believe that; but as long as man is here, he must (they say) carry about with him the body of sin. Thus pride is kept up, and that honour and mastership, which Christ denied; and all unrighteousness: yet multitudes of teachers; heaps of teachers; the golden cup full of abominations! Paul did not preach for wages; but laboured with his hands, that he might be an example to all them that follow him. O people, see who follow Paul! The prophet Jeremiah said, "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means;" but now the priests bear rule by the means they get from the people: take away their means, and they will bear rule over you no longer. They are such as, the apostle said, intruded into those things, which they never saw, being vainly puffed up with a fleshly mind; and, as the Scriptures declare of some of old, "They go in the way of Cain (who was a murderer) and in the way of Balaam, who coveted the wages of unrighteousness." The prophet Micah also cried against the judges, that judged for reward; and the priests, that taught for hire; and the prophets that prophesied for money; and yet leaned on the Lord, saying, "Is not the Lord amongst us?" Gifts do blind the eyes of the wise: and the gift of God was never purchased with money. All the holy servants of God did ever cry against deceit: and where the Lord hath manifested his love, they do loathe it, and that nature which holdeth it up.

He also wrote a serious exhortation to the magistrates of Derby, to consider whom they imprisoned.

‘ Friends,

‘ I desire you to consider in time, whom ye do imprison: for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. But when the Lord doth send his

messengers unto you, to warn you of the woes that will come upon you, except you repent; then you persecute them, and put them into prison, and say, 'We have a law, and by our law we may do it.' For you indeed justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts; he will not be worshipped with your forms and professions, and shows of religion. Therefore consider, ye that talk of God, how ye are subject to him; for they are his children, that do his will. What doth the Lord require of you, but to do justice, to love and show mercy, to walk humbly with him, and to help the widows and fatherless to their right? but instead thereof ye oppress the poor. Do not your judges judge for reward, and your priests teach for hire? The time is coming, that he who seeth all things, will discover all your secrets. And know this assuredly, the Lord will deliver his servants out of your hands, and he will recompense all your unjust dealings towards his people. I desire you to consider of these things, and search the Scriptures, and see whether any of the people of God did ever imprison any for religion; but were themselves imprisoned. I desire you to consider, how it is written, that when the church is met together, they may all prophesy, one by one: that all may hear, and all may learn, and all may be comforted: and then, "If any thing be revealed to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." Thus it was in the true church: and thus it ought to be. But it is not so in your assemblies; but he that teaches for hire, may speak, and none may contradict him. Again, consider the liberty that was given to the apostles, even among the unbelieving Jews; when after the reading, of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue said unto them, "Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on." I desire you to consider in stillness, and strive not against the Lord; for he is stronger than you. Though ye hold his people fast for a time; yet when he cometh he will make known who are his: for his coming is like the refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap. Then the stone that is set at nought of you builders, shall be the head-stone of the corner. O friends, lay these things to heart, and let them not seem light things to you. I wrote unto you in love, to mind the laws of God, and your own souls, and do as the holy men of God did.'

During his imprisonment there, he was under a great exercise and travel in spirit, because of the wickedness of that town; for though some were convinced there of the doctrine of truth, yet generally they were a hardened people: and he, seeing the visitation of God's love pass away from them, he mourned, and wrote the following lamentation:

'O Derby! as the waters run away, when the flood-gates are

up ; so doth the visitation of God's love pass away from thee, O Derby ! therefore look where thou art, and how thou art grounded ; and consider, before thou art utterly forsaken. The Lord moved me twice, before I came to cry against the deceits and vanities that are in thee ; and to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The woe is against the crown of pride, and the woe is against drunkenness and vain pleasures, and against them that make a profession of religion in words, and are high and lofty in mind, and live in oppression and envy. O Derby ! thy profession and preaching stinks before the Lord. Ye do profess a Sabbath in words, and meet together, dressing yourselves in fine apparel ; and you uphold pride. Thy women go with stretched forth necks, and wanton eyes, &c. which the true prophet of old cried against. Your assemblies are odious, and an abomination to the Lord : pride is set up, and bowed down to ; covetousness abounds : and he that doth wickedly, is honoured : so deceit doth bear with deceit ; and yet they profess Christ in words. O the deceit that is within thee ! it doth even break my heart to see how God is dishonoured in thee, O Derby !'

After he had written this, he perceived that his imprisonment there would not continue long : for the magistrates grew uneasy about him, and could not agree what to do with him : one while they would have sent him up to the parliament, and another while they would have banished him to Ireland. At first they called him a deceiver, and a blasphemer ; and afterwards, when the judgments of God befel them, they said he was an honest virtuous man. But their well or ill speaking was nothing to him ; for the one did not lift him up, nor did the other cast him down. At length they turned him out of gaol, about the beginning of the winter, in the year 1651, after he had been prisoner in Derby about a year ; six months whereof in the house of correction, and the rest of the time in the common gaol and dungeon.

Being set at liberty, he went into Leicestershire, and had meetings where he came, preaching so effectually, that several were convinced. He went after to Nottinghamshire again, and from thence into Derbyshire, where having visited his friends, he passed into Yorkshire, and coming into Doncaster, and other places, he preached repentance. Afterwards he came to Balby, where Richard Farnsworth and several others were convinced by his preaching. And coming afterwards into the parts about Wakefield, James Naylor came to him, and also acknowledged the truth of that doctrine he held forth ; likewise William Dewsbury, with many more ; and these three named, became in time also ministers of the gospel. But by the way, I must say that William Dewsbury was one of those that had already been imme-

diately convinced, as G. Fox himself was, who coming to him, found himself in unity with him; and of these was also G. Fox the younger, of whom more hereafter.

But I return to the other G. Fox, who coming about Selby, passed from thence to Beverly, where he went into the steeple-house, and after he that preached there had done, George Fox spoke to the congregation, and said, that 'they ought to turn to Christ Jesus as their teacher.' This struck a dread amongst the people, and the mayor spoke to him; but none meddled with him. In the afternoon he went to another steeple-house, about two miles off, where after the priest had done, he spoke to him, and the people, showing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The priest saying he could not dispute, G. Fox told him he did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the word of truth, that they might all know the one seed, to which the promise was, both in the male, and in the female. Here his speaking did so please the auditory, that he was desired to come again on another day, and to preach there. But he directed them to their teacher Christ Jesus, and so went away.

The next day he came to Crantsick, to captain Pursloe's, who accompanied him to justice Hotham's, and entering into discourse with G. Fox, told him, he had known that principle about ten years, and was glad that the Lord did publish it abroad among the people. While G. Fox was there, a great woman of Beverly came to speak with the said justice about some business, who in discourse said, that the last sabbath-day (as she called it) there was an angel or spirit came into the church at Beverly, and spoke the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there: and that when it had done, it passed away, they not knowing whence it came, nor whither it went; but it astonished all, both priest and professors, and the magistrates of the town. This relation justice Hotham gave him afterwards; and then G. Fox told him, that it was he who had been that day at Beverly steeple-house, and had declared truth there. The next first-day of the week captain Pursloe came to G. Fox, and they both went to the steeple-house, where G. Fox, when the priest had done, spoke to both priest and people, and directed them where they might find their teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ, viz. inwardly, in their hearts; which was of such effect, that some received that doctrine of truth, and continued in it. In the afternoon he went to another steeple-house, about three miles off, where one preached that bore the title of doctor: he took his text from Isaiah, lv. "Every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea come, buy wine and milk, without money, and without price." G. Fox stayed till the priest had done, and well knowing what kind of teacher he was, he

was kindled with such a zeal, that he said, 'Come down, thou deceiver: dost thou bid people come freely, and to take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them! mayest not thou blush with shame! did the prophet Isaiah and Christ do so, who spake the words, and gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to his ministers, whom he sent to preach, Freely ye have received, freely give?' The priest being amazed, hastened away, and so gave G. Fox as much time as he could desire, to speak to the people; who then directed them to the light, and the grace of God, and to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, to be taught and instructed thereby. Having thus cleared himself among the people, he returned to justice Hotham's house that night, who embracing him, said, 'My house is your house:' and also signified, that he was exceeding glad at the work of the Lord, and that his power was revealed.

From thence G. Fox went through the country, and came at night to an inn, where he bid the woman of the house, if she had any meat, to bring him some. But because he said 'thee' and 'thou' to her, she looked strangely on him. Then he asked her if she had any milk; and she said, no. He believing she spoke falsely, and seeing a churn stand in the room, would try her further, and asked her, if she had any cream; but she denied that she had any. Then a little boy playing about the churn, put his hands into it, and pulling it down, threw all the cream on the floor. Thus the woman appeared to be a liar, and she being amazed, took up the child and whipt it sorely: but he reproved her for her lying, and going out of the house, went away, and that night lay in a stack of hay, in rain and snow. The next day he came to York, and the first day of the week being come, he went to the cathedral: when the priest had done, he said, he had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. Then (said a professor) 'Say on quickly;' for it was very cold weather. G. Fox then told them, 'this was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words; but God Almighty looked for fruits among them.' As soon as these words were out of his mouth, he was hurried out, and thrown down the steps. But he got up again without hurt, and went to his lodging. Yet several of the people were so reached, that they became convinced of the truth.

He having now done his service in York, went from thence, and came the next day to Burraby, and going into a certain meeting, where there was a priest also, he had occasion to declare the truth, and many were convinced; and the priest himself confessed to the truth, though he came not to live up to it. The following day G. Fox passed to Cleaveland, where having a meeting, some were convinced. The first day of the next week he went to the steeple-house, and when the priest had done, he directed the

people to their teacher within, Christ Jesus, who had bought them. The priest then coming to him, he had a little discourse with him, and put him soon to silence.

From thence he went to Stath, where he had great meetings, and many received the truth he preached, among whom was Philip Scarth, a priest, that afterwards came to be a minister of the gospel among those called Quakers, who now began thereabout to increase in number, and had great meetings. It happened here, that a certain Scotch priest, walking with G. Fox, asked him many questions concerning the light, and the soul, to all which he answered fully. But after they parted, this Scotch priest met Philip Scarth, and breaking his cane against the ground, said in anger, 'If ever he met with G. Fox again, he would have his life, or Fox should have his;' adding, 'That he would give his head, if G. Fox was not knocked down within a month.' Yet, what is marvellous, this same Scotch priest, after some years, came to be one of the people called Quakers, and afterwards G. Fox visited him at his house. Not much unlike to this, was, that a woman of note, among the Independents, being swayed by prejudice against G. Fox, said, she would willingly have gone to have seen him hanged; but, when she heard him preach, she was so reached, that being convinced of the truth he declared, she came to be one of his friends. Oftentimes he had opportunity to speak with the priests, who, when they heard of his coming, would hide themselves; for it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them, the man in leather breeches is come; for this was indeed his dress in those days, not out of any superstition, but because leather clothes being strong, it was not unsuitable for one that travelled so much as he did.

Coming to Malton, he had great meetings; but it was thought such a strange thing to preach in houses, that many durst not come there, for fear of their relations; and therefore he was much desired to come and preach in the churches, as the steeple-houses are commonly called: nay, one of the priests himself called Boyes (who was so taken with him, that he called him brother) did invite him to preach in his steeple-house: but G. Fox had little inclination to that, because both priests and people called that place of worship, 'The house of God;' whereas the apostle said to the Athenians, "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands." And therefore he endeavoured to draw people off from them, and to make them sensible, that God and Christ ought to dwell in their hearts, that so their bodies might be made the temples of God. Yet, for that time he went into the steeple-house at Malton, where there were not above eleven hearers, to whom the priest was preaching: but after it was known in the town that G. Fox was there, it was soon filled with people. And when the priest had done, he sent the other that had invited him thither, to bring him

up into the pulpit. But G. Fox sent him word, that he needed not to go into the pulpit. This priest not satisfied with this refusal, sent again, desiring him to go up into it, for, said he, it is a better place to be seen of the people. But G. Fox answered, that he could be seen and heard well enough where he was; and that he came not there to hold up such places, nor their maintenance and trade. This created some displeasure, and it was said, that false prophets were to come in the last times. But this saying grieved many of the people, and some began to murmur at it: whereupon G. Fox, stood up, and desiring all to be quiet, he stepped upon a high seat; and since somewhat had been spoken of false prophets, he declared to the auditory, the mark of those prophets; and he showed, that they were already come, and were out of the steps of the true prophets, and of Christ and his apostles. He also directed the people to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus, who would turn them from darkness to light. And having opened divers scriptures to them, he directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might come to God, and also to know who the false prophets were. And having thus had a large time to preach to the people, he went away without any disturbance.

After some time, he came to Pickering, where the justices held their sessions in the steeple-house, justice Robinson being chairman. At the same time G. Fox had a meeting in the school-house, where many priests and professors came, and asked several questions, which were answered to their satisfaction: so that many persons, and amongst these, four chief constables, were convinced that day; and word was carried to justice Robinson, that his priest, whom he loved more than all the others, was overthrown and convinced. After the meeting was done, they went to an inn, and the said priest was very loving, and would have paid for G. Fox's dinner; but this he would not suffer by any means. Then he offered that he should have his steeple-house to preach in; but he refused, and told him and the people, that he came to bring them off from such things to Christ. The next morning he went with the four chief constables to visit justice Robinson, who meeting him at his chamber door, G. Fox told him, he could not honour him with man's honour: to which the justice said, he did not look for it. Then he went into his chamber, and spoke to him concerning the state of the false prophets, and of the true; and also concerning election and reprobation, showing that reprobation stood in the first birth, and election in the second; and what it was that the promise of God was to, and what the judgment of God was against. All this so pleased the said Robinson, that he not only confessed it to be truth, but when another justice that was present made some little opposition, he informed him; and at their parting, he said to G. Fox, it was very well that he did exercise that gift which God had given him. And he took the chief

constables aside, and would have given them some money for G. Fox, saying, he would not have him to be at any charge in their country. But they told him, that they themselves could not get him to take any money. G. Fox passing from thence, priest Boyes went along with him: but the year being now come to an end, let us take a short view how it stood with state affairs.

It hath been said already, that Charles II. had been crowned king by the Scots, but having been beaten, with his forces, by Cromwell, he marched afterwards with a new army into England, and took Worcester without opposition: yet in the month of September, his forces were so entirely routed by Cromwell, that king Charles, to prevent being taken prisoner after the battle, hid himself a whole day in a hollow oak, and afterwards, being clothed like a servant, and called by the name of William, passed the country, and through many hazards escaped out of England, and arrived on the coast of Normandy in France; where we will leave him, to return again to

G. Fox, who coming with priest Boyes into a town to bait, and hearing the bells ring, asked what that was for. They told him, that it was for him to preach in the steeple-house. Walking thither, he saw the people were gathered together in the steeple-house yard. The priest who accompanied him, would have had him to go into the steeple-house; but he said, it was no matter. This seemed strange to the people, that he would not go into that which they called the house of God. But he stood up in the steeple-house yard, and declared to them, that he came not to hold up their idol temples, nor their priests, nor their tithes, nor their Jewish and heathenish ceremonies; that the ground on which their temples stood, was no more holy than any other piece of ground; that the apostles going into the Jews' synagogues and temples, was to bring people off from that temple, &c. and from the offerings and tithes, and covetous priests of that time; that such who came to be converted, and believed in Christ, afterwards met together in dwelling-houses; and that all who preach Christ, the word of life, ought to preach freely, as the apostles did, and as Christ had commanded; and that the Lord God of heaven and earth had sent him to preach freely, and to bring people off from the outward temples made with hands, in which God dwelleth not; that so they might know their bodies were to become the temples of God and Christ. Moreover, that they ought to leave all their superstitious ceremonies, traditions, and doctrines of men; and not regard such teachers of the world, that took tithes, and great wages, preaching for hire, and divining for money; whom God and Christ never sent, according to their own confession, when they say, they never heard God's voice. That, therefore, people ought to come to the Spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the light of Jesus in their own hearts: that so they might come

to know Christ their free teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the Scriptures to them. This speech had such effect, that many of them declared they were convinced of the truth.

From this place he went to another town, and priest Boyes went along with him. Thither came several professors, but he sat silent for some hours; which made them often ask the priest, 'When will he begin? When will he speak?' To which the priest said, 'Wait:' and told them that the people waited upon Christ a long while before he spake: now, though G. Fox by silence was to famish people from words, yet at length he felt himself moved to speak, which he did so effectually that many were reached, and there was a general convincement amongst them.

From hence he passed on, the priest continuing to go with him, as did several others; and as they went along some people called to the priest, and said, 'Mr. Boyes, we owe you some money for tithes, pray come and take it.' But he throwing up his hands, said, he had enough, and would have none of it; they might keep it; and he praised the Lord he had enough. At length they came into this priest's steeple-house in the moors; and the priest going before, held open the pulpit door: but G. Fox told him he would not go into it. And this steeple-house being very much painted, he told him and the people, that the painted beast had a painted house. Then he spoke to them concerning the rise of all those houses, and their superstitious ways; and he told them, that, as the end of the apostles going into the temples and synagogues, was not to hold them up, but to bring people to Christ, the substance; so the end of his coming there, was not to hold up these temples, priests, and tithes, but to bring them off from all these things, to Christ, the substance. Moreover, he declared to them what the true worship was, which Christ had set up; and he distinguished Christ, the true way, from all the false ways; opening the parables to them, and turning them from darkness to the true light, that by it they might see themselves and their sins, and Christ their Saviour, that so believing in him, they might be saved from their sins.

After this, he went to the house of one Birdet, where he had a great meeting, and the priest Boyes accompanied him still, leaving his steeple-house. Then he returned towards Cranswick, to captain Pursloe's, and justice Hotham's, who received him kindly, being glad that truth was spread, and so many had received it. And justice Hotham said, 'If God had not raised up this principle of light and life, which G. Fox preached, the nation had been overrun with ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws: because (said he) they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept

their old principle still ; but this principle of truth overthrows their principle, and the root and ground thereof.'

Now, though G. Fox found good entertainment, yet he did not settle there, but kept in continual motion, going from one place to another, to beget souls unto God. I do not intend to relate all his occurrences, but will give a short hint only of some of the chief.

Coming then towards night into Patrington, he walked through the town, and meeting the priest in the street, he warned both him and the people to repent, and turn to the Lord. And people gathering about him, he declared to them the word of life, directing them to the inward word, viz. the light wherewith they are enlightened. Going afterwards to an inn, for it was dark, he desired lodging, but it was denied him : then he asked for a little meat, or milk, offering to pay for it ; but this also was refused him. Being thus put off, he walked out of the town, and some rude fellows following, asked him, 'What news?' To which his answer was, 'Repent, and fear the Lord.' After he was gone a pretty way out of the town, he came to another house, where he desired to have some meat, drink, and lodging for his money, but they would not suffer him to stay there : then he went to another house, but met with the like refusal. By this time it was grown so dark, that he could not see the highway, but perceiving a ditch, he found a little water, and so refreshed himself. Then he got over the ditch, and being weary, sat down among the furze-bushes, till it grew day ; and then he got up, and passing on through the fields, a man came after him with a pike-staff, and went along with him to a town, where he raised the people, with the constable and chief constable, before the sun was up. G. Fox seeing the multitude, warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness, and exhorted them to repent. But they laying hold on him, carried him back to Patrington, and guarded him with halberts, pikes, staves, &c. Being come to the said town, all was in an uproar ; and the priest and constable consulting together what to do with him, he took that opportunity to exhort the people to repentance, and to preach the word of life to them. At last a discreet man called him into his house, where he got some milk and bread, not having eaten for some days before. Then he was carried about nine miles to a justice ; and when he was come near his house, there came a man riding after, and asked him whether he was the man that was apprehended. G. Fox asking him why, the other said, 'For no hurt.' Then he told him, he was ; and so the man rode away to the justice. Now the men that guarded G. Fox, said, it would be well if the justice was not drunk when they came to him, because he used to be drunk early. G. Fox being brought in before him, and not

putting off his hat, and saying, thou, to him, the justice asked the man that rode thither before, whether he was not mazed or fond? But the man said: 'No; it is his principle so to behave himself.' G. Fox, who was unwilling to let any opportunity slip, without admonishing people to virtue, warned the justice to repent, and bid him come to the light which Christ had enlightened him with, that by it he might see all his evil words and actions, and so return to Christ Jesus, whilst he had time, and that he ought to prize that time. 'Aye, aye,' said he, 'the light that is spoken of in the third of John.' G. Fox desired him that he would mind it, and obey it; and laying his hand upon him, he was so brought down by the Lord's power, that all the watchmen stood amazed. Then he took G. Fox with him into a parlour with the other men, and desired to see what he had in his pockets, of letters, or intelligence; for it seems they suspected him to be an enemy to the commonwealth. Then he pulled out his linen, and showed that he had no letters; which made the justice say, 'He is not a vagrant, by his linen,' and set him at liberty. Then G. Fox went back to Patrington again, with that man who had rid before to the justice, and who lived in that town. Coming to his house, he desired G. Fox to go to bed, or to lie down upon it: which he did, that they might say, they had seen him in a bed, or upon a bed; for there was a report, that he would not lie on any bed, raised doubtless, because about that time he had lain often without doors.

When the first-day of the week was come, he went to the steeple-house, and declared the doctrine of truth to the priest and people, without being molested. Then presently after, he had a great meeting at that man's house where he lay, and many were convinced that day of the truth he preached; and they were exceeding sorry that they had not given him lodging when he was there before. From thence he travelled through the country, warning people, both in towns and in country villages, to repent, and turn to Christ Jesus their teacher.

On a first-day of the week he came to one colonel Overton's house, and had a great meeting of the chief of the people of that country; where he opened many things out of the Scriptures, which they never heard before. Coming afterwards again to Patrington he understood that a tailor and some wild fellows in that town, had occasioned his being carried before the justice. This tailor came to ask him forgiveness, fearing he would complain of him; the constables also were afraid lest he should trouble them; but he forgave them all, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. Now that which made them the more afraid, was, that he having been not long before in the steeple-house at Oram, there came a professor that gave him a push on the breast, and bid him get out of the church.

To which G. Fox said, 'Dost thou call the steeple-house the church? The church is the people, whom God hath purchased with his blood, and not the house.' But justice Hotham having heard of this man's thus abusing G. Fox, sent a warrant, and bound the said man over to the sessions. So zealous was this justice to keep the peace, that he had asked G. Fox before, whether any people had abused him; but he esteeming it his duty to forgive all, told him nothing of that kind.

From Patrington he went to several great men's houses, warning them to repent. Some received him lovingly, and some slighted him. Passing thus through the country, at night he came to another town, where he desired lodging and meat, offering to pay for it; but they would not lodge him, unless he went to a constable to ask leave, which they said was the custom of strangers. But he told them, that custom was for suspected persons, and not for such as he, who was an innocent man. So after he had warned them to repent, and to mind the day of their visitation, and directed them to the light of Christ, and Spirit of God, he passed away. As it grew dark he spied a hay-stack, and went and sat under it till morning. The next day he came to Hull, where he admonished the people to turn to Christ Jesus, that they might receive salvation. And being very weary with travelling on foot so far, he got that night a lodging there.

From thence he went to Nottinghamshire, visiting his friends there; and so passed into Lincolnshire, where he did the like. And coming to Gainsborough, where one of his friends had been preaching in the market, he found the town and people all in an uproar; the more, because a certain man had raised a false accusation, reporting, that G. Fox had said he was Christ. Here, going into the house of a friendly man, the people rushed in after him, so that the house was soon filled; and amongst the rest was also this false accuser, who said openly before all the people, that G. Fox said he was Christ: and that he had got witnesses to prove the same. G. Fox kindled with zeal, stepped upon the table, and said to the people, that Christ was in them, except they were reprobates; and that it was Christ, the eternal power of God, that spoke in him at that time unto them; not that he was Christ. This gave general satisfaction, except to the false accuser himself, to whom G. Fox said, that he was a Judas, and that Judas's end should be his: and that was the word of the Lord through him (Fox) to him. The minds of the people coming thus to be quieted, they departed peaceably. But very remarkable it was: this Judas shortly after hanged himself, and a stake was driven into his grave. Now, though this was a well-known thing in this country, yet some priests spread a report that a Quaker had hanged himself in Lincolnshire, and had a stake driven through him. And though this was taken upon trust by hearsay, yet out of mere

malice, a certain priest gave out this falsehood in print, as a true matter. But this wicked slander prevailed so little, that many people in Lincolnshire were convinced of the truth preached by G. Fox.

After this he passed into Yorkshire, and coming to Warnsworth, went to the steeple-house in the forenoon, but found no acceptance; and being thrust out, he was sorely beaten with staves, and clods and stones were thrown at him; yet he exhorted to repent, and turn to Christ. In the afternoon he went to another steeple-house; but the sermon was finished before he got thither; so he preached repentance to the people that were not departed, and directed them to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus. From hence he came to Doncaster, where he had formerly preached in the market; but now, on the first day of the week, he went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done, he began to speak, but was hurried out, and haled before the magistrates, who threatened him with death, if ever he came thither again. But notwithstanding all this, G. Fox bid them mind the light of Christ in them, saying, that God was come to teach his people himself, whether they would hear or not. After a while being put out with some of his friends that were with him, they were stoned by the rude multitude. A certain innkeeper, that was a bailiff, seeing this, came and took them into his house, but one of the stones that were thrown hit his head, so that the blood ran down his face. The next first-day G. Fox went to Tickhill; where he went into the steeple-house, and there found the priest and the chief of the parish in the chancel, to whom he began to speak: but they immediately fell upon him, and the clerk struck him with his Bible so violently on the face, that the blood gushed out, and he bled exceedingly. Then the people thrust him out of the steeple-house, beat and threw him down, and dragged him along the street, so that he was besmeared with blood and dirt, and his hat was taken away. When he was got up again, he spoke to the people, and showed them how they dishonoured Christianity. Some time after, the priest coming by scoffingly called G. Fox and his friends, Quakers. But he was spoken to, in such an authority and dread, that he fell a trembling; which made one of the people say, 'Look how the priest trembles and shakes, he is turned a Quaker also.' Some moderate justices now, hearing how G. Fox and his friends had been abused, came to examine the business; and the clerk was afraid of having his hand cut off, for striking him in the church: but G. Fox, as a true Christian, forgave him, and would not appear against him.

Thus far G. Fox only hath been mentioned as a preacher of repentance; but now some others of his persuasion began also to preach publicly, viz. Thomas Aldam, Richard Farnsworth, and, not long after, William Dewsbury. This made such a stir, that

the priest of Warnsworth procured a warrant from the justices against G. Fox and Thomas Aldam. The constable who came with this order, which was to be executed in any part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, took Thomas Aldam, and carried him to York, and G. Fox went with him twenty miles; but though the constable had a warrant for him also, yet he meddled not with G. Fox, saying, he was loth to trouble men that were strangers; but Thomas Aldam was his neighbour. About this time Richard Farnsworth went into an eminent steeple-house, in or about Wakefield; where he spoke so powerfully, that the people were amazed. The priest of that place, whose name was Marshal, spread a slanderous report, that G. Fox carried bottles about with him, and made people drink thereof, which made them follow him. And that he rid upon a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon that horse, and in the same hour in another country threescore miles off. But these horrid lies were so far from turning to the priest's advantage, that he preached many of his hearers away from him; for it was well known that G. Fox had no horse at that time, but travelled on foot. He coming now into a steeple-house not far from Bradford; the priest took his text from Jer. v. 31. "My people love to have it so;" leaving out the foregoing words, "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means." G. Fox unwilling to let this pass unregarded, showed the people the priest's unfair dealing; and, directing them to Christ, the true inward teacher, declared, that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers and hirelings, that they might come to receive freely from him; concluding his speech with a warning of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all flesh. He passed from thence without much opposition, and travelled now for some time with Richard Farnsworth: with whom he once passed a night in the open field, on a bed they made of fern.

Then parting from him, he came to Wensleydale, where he went into the steeple-house; and after the lecture, he spoke to the people much in the same terms as he used to do on the like occasions; and had not much opposition there. Thus he went from place to place, and often met with strange occurrences, some of which were more jocose than serious; others very rude, and even dangerous to his life. But he trusted in God, really believing that he had sent him to preach repentance, and to exhort people to a true conversion.

Thus travelling on, he came near Sedbergh; there he went to a meeting at justice Benson's, where a people met that were separated from the public worship; and, by his preaching, he gave such general satisfaction, that most of the hearers were convinced of the truth declared by him. Thus the number of

his fellow-believers increased so, that now they had meetings by themselves, in many places of the country.

About this time there being a fair at Sedbergh, G. Fox declared the day of the Lord through the fair; and afterwards went into the steeple-house yard, where abundance of people came to him: here he preached for several hours, showing, that the Lord was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers, to Christ, the true teacher, and the true way to God. Moreover, he showed the declining state of the modern doctors and teachers; and exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands, and wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God. None of the priests, several of whom were there, spoke against what he had declared; but a captain said, 'Why will you not go into the church; for this is not a fit place to preach in?' G. Fox told him, 'That he did not approve of their church.' Then stood up one Francis Howgill, who was a preacher, and though he never had seen G. Fox before, yet he was so affected with him, that he answered the captain, and soon put him to silence: for, said Howgill, 'This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes.' After this, G. Fox opened to the people, 'That that ground and house was not more holy than another place; and that the house was not the church, but the people, whom Christ was the head of.' Then the priests coming to him, he warned them to repent; upon which one of them said he was mad: but notwithstanding his saying so, many were convinced there that day; and amongst these, one captain Ward.

The next first-day G. Fox came to Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, where the said Francis Howgill, and one John Audland, had been preaching in the morning. The chapel at that time was so full of people, that many could not get in: and Howgill said afterwards, he thought G. Fox looked into the chapel, and his spirit was ready to fail. But G. Fox did not look into it; however, Howgill had been so reached when he heard him preach in the steeple-house yard at Sedbergh, that he was, as it were, checked, and so quickly made an end of his sermon; thinking as well as others, that G. Fox would preach there that day, as indeed he did. For having refreshed himself at noon, with a little water out of a brook, he went and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel, intending to have a meeting there. At this, people wondered, because they looked upon the church (so called) as an holy place, requisite for worship. But G. Fox told them afterwards, that the ground whereon he stood, was as good as that of the steeple-house; besides, we find, that Christ himself did preach on a mountain, and also at the sea-side. Now, in the afternoon, the people gathered about him, with several of their

preachers, and amongst these, F. Howgill and J. Audland. To this auditory, which was judged to consist of more than a thousand people, G. Fox began to preach, and spoke about the space of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God in themselves, that so they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God; by which they should become children of the light, and, by the Spirit of Truth, be let into all truth; and so sensibly understand the words of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, and come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; that so their bodies might be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. Moreover he explained the prophets, and the figures, and shadows, and directed his hearers to Christ the substance. He also opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and showed the intent and scope of the apostles' writings, and epistles to the elect. Then he spoke also concerning the state of apostacy, that hath been since the apostles' days; how the priests had gotten the Scripture, without being in that spirit which gave them forth: and how they were found in the steps of the false prophets, scribes, and pharisees of old, and were such as the true prophets, Christ, and his apostles cried against; insomuch, that none that were guided by the Spirit of God now could own them.

While G. Fox was thus preaching, many old people went into the chapel, and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill, and not in the church (as they called it.) He perceiving this, said, 'That the steeple-house, and the ground whereon it stood, was no more holy than that hill: and that those temples, which they called the dreadful houses of God, were not set up by the command of God and Christ; nor their priests instituted as Aaron's priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those amongst the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple, and its worship, and the priests and their tithes; and that therefore all ought to hearken unto him; for he said, "Learn of me;" and God said of him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." In conclusion, he said, 'That the Lord God had sent him to preach the everlasting gospel, and word of life amongst them; and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which were gotten up since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the spirit and power the apostles were in.' Thus preached G. Fox, and his ministry was at that time accompanied with such a convincing power, and so reached the hearts of the people, that many, and even all the teachers of that congregation,

who were many, were convinced of that truth which was declared to them.

After this meeting was over, G. Fox went to John Audland's, who, as well as Francis Howgill, and others, had been quite brought over by his effectual preaching. And as these had been zealous preachers amongst those of their former persuasion, so it was not long before they became publishers of that doctrine, which now, by the ministry of G. Fox they had embraced; and were so far from approving their former service, that they gave back the money they received for their preaching to the parish of Colton in Lancashire; being now resolved to give freely what they had received freely. And here I shall make some small digression, in saying something concerning these two excellent men.

John Audland was a young man, and of a comely countenance, and very lovely qualities. When he was but seventeen or eighteen years old, he was very religious, and a zealous searcher of the Holy Scriptures; and having a good understanding and strong memory, he thereby gathered a large treasure of Scripture learning, became an eminent teacher among the Independents, and had a very numerous auditory. But when he heard G. Fox preach, he was thereby so reached to the heart, that he began, in process of time, to see the emptiness of his great literal knowledge, and that all his righteousness was but as filthy rags. This brought him to a state of mourning, for now he saw that all his profession and wisdom could not bring him to true happiness. But the Lord, who doth not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, did pity him in this state of deep humiliation, and bore him up again by his supporting power; whereby in time he came to be prepared for that service he was appointed to by God.

Concerning Francis Howgill; he was also a religious man, who, having seen the superstitions of the episcopal church, had left it, and applied himself to the Independents. But although he, who had been trained up in the university to be a minister, became a teacher amongst the Independents, and was zealous in virtue; yet he remained dissatisfied in himself, finding that notwithstanding all his fasting, prayer, and good works, the root of sin still remained in him; and although the common doctrine was, that Christ had taken the guilt of sin upon himself, yet this could not satisfy him; because his conscience told him, "His servant thou art, whom thou obeyest." Thus increasing in understanding, it was revealed to him, that the Lord, according to what the prophets had foretold, would teach his people himself; and it seemed also to him, that this time was near at hand. Some while after, it happened, as hath been said already, that he was present when G. Fox preached, and when he heard him say,

that 'the light of Christ in man, was the way to Christ,' he believed this to be the word of truth; and he saw how he had been ignorant of the principle of true religion. Submitting then to the reproofs of this inward light, he saw the unfruitfulness of all his labour, and anguish and sorrow seized on him, and judgment went over all his former actions. But he being given up, and resigned in that state, saying within himself, 'Thou, O God, art just in all thy judgments,' it pleased the Lord in due time to fill his heart with joy, and to make him a minister of his everlasting word. But no sooner did he enter into that service, but both priests and magistrates, of whom he formerly had been beloved, became his enemies; and envy was so kindled against him, that he was locked up in a nasty place, at Appleby in Westmoreland, and was kept there prisoner for some time.

But let me now return to G. Fox, who coming to Kendal, had a meeting there in the town-hall; where, declaring the word of life, he showed the people how they might come to the saving knowledge of Christ, and to have a right understanding of the Holy Scripture; opening to them what it was that would lead them into the way of reconciliation with God. This was of such effect, that several became convinced of the truth published by him: and others were so well affected to him, that when he went to Under-barrow, several people accompanied him, and he had great reasonings with them, but especially with one Edward Burrough, who, though of extraordinary parts, and acquired knowledge, was not able to withstand the efficacious sayings of G. Fox. And because this Burrough became an eminent man among the Quakers, so called, being endued with courage and understanding, fit to overcome his opposers, and to break even stony hearts; I will mention here a little of his descent and quality.

He was born in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, of parents, who, for their honest and virtuous life, were in good repute; he was well educated, and trained up in such learning as that country did afford. His knowledge and understanding soon passed his years; for being but a boy he had the spirit of a man, and in his youth was endued with wisdom above his equals in years. Moreover, he was very religious, conversing frequently with those that were in esteem for piety and godly life. Neither was he inclined to the ordinary pleasures of youth; but it was his delight to be exercised in reading of Holy Scripture, wherein he was well versed. By his parents he was trained up in the episcopal worship; yet when but twelve years of age, he often went to the meetings of the Presbyterians, because their doctrine, in many things, seemed to him to approach nearer to truth, than that of the public Church; wherefore he became a follower of the Presbyterians, although

he was reviled for it by his acquaintance. But being come to the age of about seventeen years, and growing more and more sensible of his own condition, he was often struck with terror; and when he had been praying, he heard, as it were, a voice, 'Thou art ignorant of God; thou knowest not where he is, nor what he is; to what purpose is thy prayer?' This brought him under such a concern, that he began to take diligent heed to his life, so that he abstained not only from all vanities, but, when occasion offered, he reproved others for their vain conversation and wickedness; but for this he was derided, and looked upon scornfully by many, yet he continued to live religiously, and felt sometimes sweet refreshments to his soul. But though he had the truth in his comprehension, yet he wanted the real and experimental knowledge of it, and so became darkened again, losing what he once possessed: and being too ready to flatter himself, would say, 'Whom God loves once, he loves for ever.' Now he grew weary of hearing any of the priests; for he saw they did not possess what they spoke of to others; and sometimes he began to question his own experience. Being thus many times put to a stand, he seemed almost to be at a loss. In this condition he heard G. Fox preach, and afterwards reasoned with him; and it pleased the Lord so to open his understanding, that he perceived (as he relates himself) that he was in the prodigal state, above the cross of Christ, and not in the pure fear of the Lord. Being thus convinced, he entered into the society of the despised Quakers, though he was now rejected by his relations, and, by a blind zeal, turned out of his father's house. This he bore patiently, and continued faithful in the doctrine he had embraced: and in process of time he so advanced in true knowledge, that he became a very eminent minister of the gospel. But what adversities did he not undergo! Reviling, slandering, buffeting, and caning, were often his lot; watching and fasting were many times his portion; and imprisonment, great jeopardies, and danger of life, he was not unacquainted with. But nothing could make this hero shrink: he always was laborious, and seldom had any hours of rest. In his preaching he was very acceptable, and eloquent in his speech, and had the tongue (according to what an eminent author relates, that knew him from his youth) of a learned orator, to declare himself to the understandings and consciences of all men he met with. He was also a great writer, and often would engage in disputes with those of other persuasions, sparing no pains, where he thought he could serve the Lord and the church. Thus much for this time, of E. Burrough.

Let us return now to G. Fox, whom we left at Under-barrow, where, with the consent of the inhabitants, he had a great meeting in the chapel, and many were convinced, and received the truth preached by him. From thence he went to Lancashire,

and having in some places spoken in the steeple-houses, he came to Ulverstone, and so to Swarthmore, to the house of Thomas Fell, a judge in Wales, where many priests frequently came. The judge was at that time abroad, employed in the exercise of his office, and his wife, Margaret, was also gone abroad that day. G. Fox in the meanwhile coming thither, met the priest, William Lampitt, who was a high notionist, and rich in words. But G. Fox soon perceiving that he was without the possession of what he professed, opposed him boldly. Before it was night, Margaret Fell returned home, and her children told her, that Lampitt and Fox had disagreed, which did somewhat trouble her, for she making much of the priests, especially admired Lampitt. That same night G. Fox had much reasoning there, and declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and G. Fox discoursed with him in the presence of Margaret Fell, who then began clearly to discern the priest.

The following day being appointed for an humiliation, Margaret went with her children to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, having asked G. Fox before to go with her: but he replying, that he must do as he was ordered by the Lord, left her, and walked into the fields; and there he felt a strong motion to go also to the steeple-house. When he came there, the people were singing, but what they sung was, according to his opinion, altogether unsuitable to their states. After they had done, he stept up on a form, and asked leave to speak: the priest consenting, G. Fox began thus: 'He is not a Jew that is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward: but he is a Jew that is one inwardly; and that is circumcision, which is of the heart.' And so he went on, and said, 'That Christ was the light of the world, and enlightened every man that cometh into the world, and that by this light they might be gathered to God,' &c. Margaret Fell standing up in her pew, wondered at this doctrine, having never heard any such before. In the mean while G. Fox went on, and opening the Scriptures said, 'That they were the prophet's words, and Christ's, and the apostles' words; and that what they spoke, they enjoyed and possessed, and had it from the Lord. What have any to do, said he, with the Scriptures, if they come not to the Spirit that gave them forth? You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this; but what canst thou, O man, say thyself concerning this? Art thou a child of the light; dost thou walk in the light; and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from God?' He showed also, 'That God was come to teach his people himself by his Spirit, and to bring them off from their churches, and religions, and their ways of worship,' &c. These his words did so effectually reach the aforesaid Margaret, that she sat down in her pew again, and weeping bitterly, cried in her spirit to the Lord, 'We are all thieves! We are all thieves!

We have taken the Scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves.' G. Fox still going on, declared against the false prophets, and said, that their way of worship was but talking of other men's words, and that they themselves were out of the life and spirit, which those were in who gave them forth. Then cried out a justice of peace, called John Sawrey, 'Take him away.' But Margaret Fell said to the officers, 'Let him alone. Why may not he speak as well as any other?' The Priest Lampitt, it is like to please her, said also, 'Let him speak.' G. Fox then speaking yet awhile, was at length led out by the constable, according to the order of the said justice Sawrey; and then he spoke to the people in the grave-yard.

In the evening he came again into the house of judge Fell, where he took occasion to speak to the servants, and those of the family, who most of them came so effectually to be convinced by him, that they embraced the truth which he preached. Among these, was also William Caton, of whom more hereafter. Margaret Fell in the mean while being come home, was so reached, that she scarce knew what to do, her husband being from home; for she clearly perceived what she had heard G. Fox preach, was truth.

The first-day after, he went to Aldenham steeple-house, where, when the priest had done, he spoke to the people, and admonished them to return to the Lord. From thence he went to Ramside, where was a chapel, in which one Thomas Lawson, who was an eminent priest, used to preach; who having some notice of G. Fox's coming, preached in the morning, and told the people that G. Fox was to come there in the afternoon: by which means very many people were gathered together. When he came, he saw there was no place so convenient to speak to the people as the chapel, and therefore he went into it. The priest, Lawson, willing to give a full opportunity to G. Fox, went not up into the pulpit, but left all the time to him. And G. Fox so powerfully declared the doctrine of truth, that many received it, and among these, the priest himself, who left off his preaching for hire, and in process of time, came to preach the Lord Jesus Christ, and his glorious gospel freely; which however did not hinder him to exercise himself in the knowledge of herbs, wherein he came to be so experienced, that he was, as I have been told, one of the most skilful herbalists in England; which gave occasion to an eminent botanist, who at first seemed a little shy of him, when he perceived his great skill, to love him as a singular friend. But this transiently.

Now I return again to G. Fox, who having performed his service about Ramside, went somewhere else, and came also to Brerecliff, where he found some people that told him, they could not dispute. But he bid them to fear the Lord, and not to speak the words of

God in an airy manner, but do the things required. Moreover, that they ought to mind the light of Christ, and take heed to his Spirit in their hearts, whereby they would come to see their evil thoughts, words, and actions; for this light (he said) would show them their sins, and by following this light, they should also see that their Saviour Christ Jesus, saved them from sin: and he said the first step to peace was to stand still in the light, which showed them their sins and transgressions: by which they should see they were in the fall of the old Adam, in darkness and death, alienated from the covenant of the promise, and without God in the world; and that Christ who died for them, was their Saviour and Redeemer, and their way to God. After G. Fox had spoken thus, he went to a new built chapel near Gleaston, wherein none had yet preached: hither came a great many people, unto whom he preached, and many were convinced.

From thence he returned to Swarthmore again: for Margaret Fell being full of fear, and expecting her husband's return home, had desired G. Fox to come, since some of the great ones of the country, being gone to meet her husband, had informed him, that a great disaster had befallen the family; and that the Quakers were witches, and had turned them from their religion; and that he must send them away, or all the country would be undone. Without all question, this was a very sad message to judge Fell, for he came home greatly offended: and one may easily think what a condition his wife was in, being in fear that she should either displease her husband, or offend God.

At that time Richard Farnsworth and James Nayler were at her house, and she desired them to speak to her husband; which they did very moderately and wisely: and though at first he was displeased, yet after he had heard them speak, he was better satisfied. And they making as if they would go away, she desired them to stay, because she expected G. Fox that evening; and she wished for an opportunity, that both he and they might speak to her husband, whereby he might satisfy himself further about them. Dinner in the meantime being ready, judge Fell and his wife Margaret, sat down at table, and whilst they were sitting, an extraordinary power seizing on her, made such an operation on her mind, that he was struck with amazement, and knew not what to think of it; but he was quiet and still; and the children also were become so grave and modest, that they could not play on their music they were learning. At night G. Fox came, and judge Fell sitting in the parlour, Margaret asked him if G. Fox might come in; and he said, 'Yes.' George then coming in without any compliment, began to speak presently; on which the family, as well as J. Nayler and R. Farnsworth, entered. He now speaking, declared what the practice of Christ and the apostles was in their day; and showed how the apostacy came

in since ; and what was the practice of the modern priests in the apostacy. He also answered all the objections of judge Fell, and so thoroughly satisfied him by the Scriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment, and asked if he was that George Fox whom justice Robinson had spoken so much in commendation of amongst many of the parliament men ? To this G. Fox answered him, that he had been with the justices Robinson and Hotham in Yorkshire : that they had been very civil and loving to him, and that they were convinced in their judgments by the Spirit of God, that the principle he bore testimony to was the truth ; and that they saw beyond the priests of the nation. All this so satisfied judge Fell, that he was very quiet that night, and went to bed. The next morning came Lampitt, the priest of Ulverstone, and walking with the judge into the garden, spoke much to him there, to render the doctrine of the Quakers odious to him, having also said to others, that G. Fox held strange notions. But judge Fell had seen the night before so much, that the priest got little entrance upon him. And when Lampitt came into the house again, G. Fox spoke sharply to him, and asked him, when God spake to him, and called him to preach to the people. The priest not liking such questions, it was not long before he went away. And whilst some were speaking how several in those parts were convinced of the truth now declared, and that they knew not where to get a meeting place ; judge Fell hearing them, said of his own accord, ‘ You may meet in my hall, if you will.’ So on the next first-day there was at his house a meeting, and a large one indeed, being the first meeting of the people called Quakers, that was at Swarthmore ; and so it continued to be kept there until the year 1690, when a new meeting-house was built there. Judge Fell not being willing to appear in that meeting, went that day to the steeple-house, and none with him but his clerk and his groom. Yet in process of time he came to be so well affected to the doctrine of the Quakers, so called, that though he did not enter publicly into their society, yet he loved them, and several years before his death, he did not frequent the steeple-house any more.

After G. Fox had stayed some days at the house of judge Fell, he went to Lancaster, and there preached in the market ; and on the next first-day, had a great meeting in the street, amongst the soldiers, to whom he declared the truth ; and in the afternoon went to the steeple-house : but speaking there, and directing people to the Spirit of God, he was haled out, and stoned along the street.

Then having travelled about some time, and preached in some places, sometimes with rude opposition, he returned to Swarthmore, where discoursing with several priests at judge Fell’s house, he asked them, whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ, commanding them to go to any people, and declare the word of the Lord to them. But none of them answered this

with Yea: yet one saying, 'I can speak of my experience as much as you;' G. Fox told him, experience was one thing, but to go with a message, and to have the word of the Lord, as the prophets and apostles had, was quite another. An ancient priest, whose name was Thomas Taylor, did ingenuously confess before judge Fell, that he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, but that he spoke his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages. This very much confirmed judge Fell in the persuasion he had already, that the priests were not what they pretended to be: for he had thought, as the generality of people did then, that they were sent from God. At this time, the saying of G. Fox wrought so close on the mind of the said T. Taylor, that he was convinced, and travelled with him into Westmoreland; and coming into Crosland steeple-house, T. Taylor's mouth was opened, so that he declared amongst the people, how he had been before he was convinced; and like the good scribe, brought forth things new and old from his treasury to the people; and showed them how the priests were out of the way.

Now great rage arose among the priests, and they began as much as they could, to stir up to persecution; for not only T. Taylor, after some time, preached the gospel freely, but several others, viz. John Audland, Francis Howgil, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Halhead, and others, appeared zealous preachers among those called Quakers; and often declared the doctrine they professed in steeple-houses and markets; whereby the number of their friends began greatly to increase.

In the meanwhile G. Fox returned into Lancashire, and went to Ulverstone, where Lampitt before mentioned was priest. He now seeing how the people called Quakers did set up meetings, and met in private houses, said, they forsook the temple, and went to Jeroboam's calves' houses; whereas formerly he had preached of a people, that would own the teachings of God, and that men and women should come to declare the gospel. Now it was told him, that the old mass-houses, which were called churches, were more like Jeroboam's calves' houses; though men strove to persuade people that such a building was the house of God: whereas Christ was the head of the church, and never was called the head of an old house; and that the apostle speaking of Christ, said, "Whose house we are." Heb. iii. 6. This passage puts me in mind, how some of the parliament soldiers, observing, over some of the steeple-house doors, these words of the patriarch Jacob, when God had appeared to him in a dream, 'This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven,' could not endure to see this gross conceit concerning those buildings, but rased out the words, 'of God,' and 'of heaven;' so that nothing was left, but 'This is none other but the house, and this is the

gate :’ and certainly their zeal was more reasonable than the conceit of those who think, that in the gospel days, a building of lime and stone may be called the house of God. It seems also a silly conceit, to call a meeting-house, furnished with a steeple, a church ; and to deny that name to the congregation-houses of dissenters, calling them, and them only, meeting-houses. But this notion hath kept up the esteem of those mass-houses ; and the priests, that they might not lose their gain of burials, have endeavoured to keep people in the belief, that the ground of these buildings was holy ; and this gave occasion to the people called Quakers, to call those buildings, steeple-houses. Now, since a fantastical man I very well knew in Holland, conversing there among the people of that persuasion, undertook to translate that denomination into Dutch, *Gespitste huizen*, it gave occasion to some Latin writers in Germany, to complain, that the Quakers scornfully called their temples *Domus acuminata*.* And though Croese says also, in *Historia Quakeriana*, concerning them, *Templa cuncti Quakeri contumeliosè vocabant ædes pyramidas*,† yet he knew better.

But this digression has led me off from G. Fox, whom I left at Ulverstone, where he went to the steeple-house, whilst priest Lampitt was preaching. And when G. Fox began to speak, John Sawrey the justice, came to him, and said, if he would speak according to the Scriptures, he should speak. G. Fox told him, he should speak according to the Scriptures, and bring the Scriptures to prove what he had to say. But then Sawrey, contradicting himself, said he should not speak ; and incensing the people against him, they fell upon G. Fox, knocked him down, kicked him, and trampled upon him. At last Sawrey came, took him from the people, and led him out of the steeple-house, bidding the constables to whip him. Then he was dragged out of the town, and given up to the rage of the rude multitude, who did so terribly beat him with switches and staves, that at length fainting, he fell down upon the wet common ; but recovering again, and being strengthened by an immediate power, he stood up, and stretching out his arms, said with a loud voice, ‘ Strike again, here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks.’ Then a mason gave him such a heavy blow over the back of his hand with his rule, that it was much bruised, and his arm so benumbed, that he could not draw it to him again, so that some of the people cried out, ‘ He has spoiled his hand for ever.’ But he being preserved through the love of God, stood still, and after a while felt such an extraordinary strengthening power, that he instantly recovered strength in his hand and arm. This made the people fall out among themselves ; and some said, if he would give them money, they would secure him from the rest. But he, instead of doing so, showed them their false

* Steeple-house.

† All the Quakers contemptuously called churches, steeple-houses.

Christianity, and told them, they were more like Jews and heathens, than true Christians; and that their fruits were an evidence of the unprofitable ministry of their priests. Then he felt himself moved to return to Ulverstone, and went into the market there: and as he went, a soldier meeting him, said, 'Sir, I see you are a man, and I am ashamed and grieved that you should be thus abused.' But G. Fox told him, the Lord's power was over all. And this he experienced, when he walked through the people in the market; for none of them had power to touch him then, though some of his friends were abused. And he seeing the soldier among them, with his naked rapier, bid him put up his sword again, if he would go along with him; for he was willing to draw him out of the company, lest some mischief should be done: and yet a few days after seven men fell upon this soldier, and beat him cruelly, because he had taken part with G. Fox and his friends.

G. Fox having performed his service at Ulverstone, came again to Swarthmore, where he found several of his friends dressing their wounds and bruises received from the hearers of priest Lampitt. And now the priests began to prophecy again, that within half a year, the Quakers should all be put down and gone. But they reckoned wrong; for it fared with those people as with trees, which grow best when most lopped. *Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus, per damna, per cædes, ab ipso, ducit opes animumque ferro.**

G. Fox keeping in continual motion, went with James Nayler to Walney Island, having first had a meeting at a little town called Cockan; after which a man came to him with a pistol, and held it at him, but it would not go off. G. Fox then zealously speaking to him, he was so struck, that he trembled with fear, and went away. The next morning G. Fox went over in a boat to James Lancaster's, and as soon as he came to land, about forty men with staves, clubs, and fishing-poles, fell upon him, beating and punching him, and endeavoured to thrust him backward into the sea: but he pressing on, was knocked down and stunned. When he came to himself again, he saw James Lancaster's wife, throwing stones at his face, and her husband James was lying over him, to keep the blows and the stones from off him: for the people had persuaded this woman, that G. Fox had bewitched her husband, and promised her to kill him when he came thither. But the Lord, by his invisible power, preserved him wonderfully, so that they could not take away his life.

* IMITATED.

As by the lopping axe, the sturdy oak
Improves her shade, and thrives beneath the stroke;
Though present loss and wounds severe she feel,
She draws fresh vigour from th' invading steel.

At length he got up, but was soon beat down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, came to him, and set him over the water. Being come to the other side, they saw how the wicked crew was fallen upon James Nayler, with a horrible cry, 'Kill him; kill him.' For whilst they had been beating G. Fox, they had not minded Nayler, who was walking up into a field.

G. Fox being now come again to Cockan, met with no better entertainment, for the people came on with pitch-forks, flails, and staves, to keep him out of the town, crying, 'Kill him; knock him on the head.' But he was preserved alive; and after having been much abused, they drove him a pretty way out of the town, and left him. Then James Lancaster went back to look after James Nayler. In the meanwhile G. Fox went to a ditch of water, and washed himself from the blood and dirt. After which he walked about three miles, to the house of one Thomas Hutton, but was so bruised that he could hardly speak; only he told where he left James Nayler. Whereupon the said Hutton, and Thomas Lawson, the priest mentioned before, (who lodged then at Hutton's house,) took each of them a horse, to see if they could find James Nayler; and they lighting on him, brought him thither that night.

Margaret Fell the next day hearing what was befallen G. Fox, sent a horse for him; but he was so sore bruised, that he was not able to bear the shaking of the horse, without much pain. When he was come to Swarthmore, the justices Sawrey and Thompson gave forth a warrant against him; but judge Fell coming home, made it ineffectual, and sent out warrants into the Isle of Walney, to apprehend all those riotous persons: whereupon some of them fled the country. But what is remarkable, James Lancaster's wife, who so wickedly behaved herself, repented so of her evil, that she became afterwards one of G. Fox's friends.

Judge Fell now desired of G. Fox a relation of what had befallen him: but he was backward, and said, that those people could not do otherwise in the spirit they were; and that they manifested the fruits of their priests' ministry. Which made the judge afterwards say to his wife, 'G. Fox spoke of the thing as a man that had not been concerned.'

The occasion upon which a warrant was issued out against him, was a design the priests had laid to touch his life; in order to which a report was spread, that in a certain meeting he had spoken blasphemy; and they, to maintain this forgery, had suborned false witnesses. The time of the sessions at Lancaster being come, G. Fox went thither with judge Fell, who on the way told him, that such a matter had never been brought before him, and that he did not know what to do in the case. But G. Fox said, 'When Paul was brought before the rulers,

and the Jews and priests accused him of many false things, he stood still all that while, till they had done ; and when they had done, Felix, the governor, beckoned to him to speak for himself. And so (said G. Fox) thou mayest do by me.'

Being come to Lancaster, at the sessions, there appeared about forty priests against him ; and these had chosen one Marshal, priest of Lancaster, to be theirspeaker ; and the witnesses they had provided, were a young priest, and two priests' sons. When the justices were set, and had heard all the charges of the priests and witnesses ; which were, that G. Fox had said, that God taught deceit, and that the Scripture contained but a parcel of lies ; the witnesses were examined upon oath ; but they were so confounded, and at such a loss, that one of them, not being able to answer directly to what was asked him, said, the other could say it ; which made the justices say, ' Have you sworn it, and do you now say, the other can say it ? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have given it in upon your oath.' There were several persons in the court, who declared that they had heard one of the two priests' sons say, if he had power, he would make George deny his profession ; and that he would take away his life. The young priest, who also was a witness, confessed, that he should not have meddled with the thing, had not another priest sent for him, and set him on work. After all the accusations had been heard, several men of reputation in the country affirmed in court, that no such words, as had been sworn against G. Fox, were spoken by him at the meeting ; for most of the serious men on that side of the county, that were then at the sessions, had been at that meeting, wherein the witnesses swore he spake the aforesaid blasphemous words. Colonel West, being a justice of the peace, and then upon the bench, was so well pleased with these evidences, that he (having long been weak in body) said, he blessed the Lord that had healed him that day ; adding, that he never saw so many sober people, and good faces together in all his life. And then turning himself to G. Fox, said, ' George, if thou hast any thing to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it.' Then he began to speak ; but priest Marshal, the orator for the other priests, went away presently. Now, that which G. Fox declared was, that ' the Holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God ; and that all people must first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and apostles learnt, and also know the Holy Scriptures. For as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scripture ; so the same Spirit of God must also be in those that come to know and understand the Scriptures ; by which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, and with the Son, and with one another : and that without that Spirit, they could know neither God nor

Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor have right fellowship with one another.' No sooner had he spoken these words, but about half a dozen priests burst out into a passion, and one of them, whose name was Jackus said, that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable; which made G. Fox answer, 'Then every one that hath the letter hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scripture.' To which judge Fell and colonel West added, that according to that position, they might carry the Spirit in their pockets, as they did the Scriptures. The justices also bid Jackus prove what he had said. But he finding himself caught, would have denied it; and the other priests endeavoured to disguise his words with a pretended meaning. But the justices would admit no other meaning, than the plain sense of the words. And seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were set on by the envy of the priests, they discharged him, and after judge Fell had spoken to the justices Sawrey and Thompson, concerning the warrant they had given forth against G. Fox, showing that this tended to encourage such riots as those in the Isle of Walney, he and colonel West granted a *supersedeas*, to stop the execution of the said warrant.

G. Fox being thus cleared in open sessions, many people rejoiced, and were that day convinced of the Truth declared by him in the court: and among these, one justice Benson, and the mayor of Lancaster, whose name was Ripan; also one Thomas Briggs, who had been very averse to, and an opposer of, the Quakers so called; and this same Briggs became afterwards a faithful minister of the gospel amongst them, and remained so to the end of his days.

G. Fox stayed yet some days at Lancaster. But to relate all that he and his friends met with, is not my intention; for to set down at large all such occurrences, would be a work requiring more leisure and strength than can be expected from me. And, therefore, I intend only to describe what I find most remarkable; though many notable things have happened, of which I could not fully be informed in every circumstance, as name, place, time, &c. But it is probable that this may give occasion in England, to some other author after me, to make such discoveries, that posterity will wonder at it. For such abuses as G. Fox met with, was the share also of many others of his friends, especially the preachers, who this year were no less than twenty-five in number: and almost in every place where they came, they met with opposition, and became, as it were, the prey of the rude multitude. But neither the beating, buffeting, nor stoning of the mad rabble, nor the gaols or whippings that befel them from the magistrates, were able to stop the progress of the doctrine they preached to the people in markets, streets, and also in steeple-houses. And many even of those that had been enraged like wolves, became

afterwards like lambs; and suffered patiently from others, what formerly they themselves, in a blind zeal, had committed.

Thus the Quakers so called, by a firm and lasting patience, have surmounted the greatest difficulties, and are at length become a numerous people; many not valuing their own lives, when they met with any opportunity for the service of God. And though their enemies on this account, have charged them with stubbornness and obstinacy, yet they meekly resigned to what befel them, well knowing that thus to be accused hath been always the lot of those who suffered for the testimony of Truth. Neither could they be charged with resistance, or making head against their persecutors; for one man did sometimes lead a great many of them to prison, who never forsook their religious assemblies, how hot soever persecution was. That this was also the practice of the primitive Christians, appears by what Cyprian (who died a martyr) wrote to Demetrian, viz. *Nemo nostrum, quando, apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec se adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis nimius et copiosus sit noster populus, ulciscitur.** But let not my reader think, that these I have described have been the greatest sufferings of this harmless people; for I believe them to have been a hundred times more than my pen will be able to mention. Now I take up again the thread of my relation.

G. Fox being acquitted by the court, as hath been said, it made the priests fret to hear it cried about, that the priests had lost the day, and that the Quakers had kept the field. To revenge this, they got some envious justices to join with them, who at the following assizes at Lancaster, informed judge Windham against G. Fox; which so prevailed upon him, that he commanded colonel West, who was clerk of the assizes, to issue forth a warrant for apprehending him, but the said colonel telling the judge of his innocence, spoke boldly in his defence. The judge offended at this, commanded him again, either to write a warrant, or to go off from his seat. Then the colonel told him in plain terms, that he would not do it, but that he would offer up all his estate, and his body also for G. Fox. Thus the judge was stopped; and G. Fox coming that night to Lancaster, heard of a warrant to be given out against him, and therefore judged it better to show himself openly, than to make his adversaries seek him. So he went to the chambers of judge Fell and colonel West; and as soon as he came in, they smiled, and the colonel said, 'What! are you come into the dragon's mouth?' But G. Fox was always undaunted, and did not use to flinch in danger. So he stayed some days in town, and walked up and down there, without being meddled with, or ques-

* No one of us makes resistance when he is taken up; nor takes any revenge on your unrighteous violence, although our numbers are greater than yours.

tioned by any. Yet his friends in the mean while did not suffer the less ; for all the villany or insolence that could be thought of, was not judged by some to be too bad to vex them. It was about this time that Richard Hubberthorn and several others were haled out of a meeting by some wicked men, and carried some distance off into the fields, where they bound them, and left them so in the winter season.

G. Fox being now come again to Swarthmore, wrote several letters to the magistrates and priests who had raised persecution thereabouts. That to justice John Sawrey was very sharp, and after this manner :

‘ Friend,

‘ Thou was the first beginner of all the persecution in the North. Thou wast the first stirrer of them up against the righteous seed, and against the truth of God ; and was the first strengthener of the hands of evil-doers against the innocent and harmless : and thou shalt not prosper. Thou wast the first stirrer up of strikers, stoners, persecutors, stockers, mockers, and imprisoners in the North ; and of revilers, slanderers, railers, and false accusers, and scandal-raisers. This was thy work, and this thou stirredst up ! So thy fruits declare thy spirit. Instead of stirring up the pure mind in people, thou hast stirred up the wicked, malicious and envious ; and taken hand with the wicked. Thou hast made the people’s minds envious up and down the country ; this was thy work. But God hath shortened thy days, and limited thee, and set thy bounds, and broken thy jaws, and discovered thy religion to the simple and babes, and brought thy deeds to light. How is thy habitation fallen, and become the habitation of devils ! How is thy beauty lost, and thy glory withered ! How hast thou showed thy end, that thou hast served God but with thy lips, and thy heart far from him, and thou in the hypocrisy ! How hath the form of thy teaching declared itself to be the mark of the false prophets, whose fruit declares itself ! for by their fruits they are known. How are the wise men turned backward ! View thy ways, and take notice, with whom thou hast taken part. That of God in thy conscience will tell thee. The Ancient of days will reprove thee. How hath thy zeal appeared to be the blind zeal ; a persecutor, which Christ and his apostles forbad Christians to follow ! How hast thou strengthened the hands of evil-doers, and been a praise to them, and not to them that do well ! How like a madman, and a blind man, didst thou turn thy sword backward against the saints, against whom there is no law ! How wilt thou be gnawed and burned one day, when thou shalt feel the flame and have the plagues of God poured upon thee, and thou begin to gnaw thy tongue for pain, because of the plagues ! Thou shalt have thy

reward according to thy works. Thou canst not escape; the Lord's righteous judgment will find thee out, and the witness of God in thy conscience shall answer it. How hast thou caused the heathen to blaspheme, and gone on with the multitude to do evil, and joined hand in hand with the wicked! How is thy latter end worse than thy beginning, who art come with the dog to bite, and art turned as a wolf to devour the lambs! How hast thou discovered thyself to be a man more fit to be kept in a place to be nurtured, than to be set in a place to nurture! How wast thou exalted and puffed up with pride! And how art thou fallen down with shame, that thou comest to be covered with that, which thou stirredst up, and broughtest forth. Let not John Sawrey take the words of God into his mouth, till he be reformed. Let him not take his name into his mouth, till he depart from iniquity. Let not him and his teacher make a profession of the saints' words, except they intend to proclaim themselves hypocrites, whose lives are so contrary to the lives of the saints; whose church hath made itself manifest to be a cage of unclean birds. You having a form of godliness, but not the power, have made them that be in the power, your derision, your byeword, and your talk at your feasts. Thy ill savour, John Sawrey, the country about have smelled, and of thy unchristian carriage all that fear God have been ashamed; and to them thou hast been a grief. In the day of account thou shalt know it, even in the day of thy condemnation. Thou wast mounted up, and hadst set thy nest on high; but never gottest higher than the fowls of the air. But now thou art run amongst the beasts of prey, and art fallen into the earth; so that earthliness and covetousness have swallowed thee up; and thy conceitedness would not carry thee through, in whom was found the selfish principle, which hath blinded thy eye. Thy back must be bowed down always; for thy table is already become thy snare.

‘G. F.’

Sharp indeed was this letter; but G. Fox thought himself moved thereto by the Lord: and it is remarkable that this justice Sawrey, who was the first persecutor in those parts, afterwards was drowned, and so died not a natural death. To the priest William Lampitt he writ also, and another letter to others, to reprove them for their wickedness.

Some time after he went to Westmoreland, where mischief was intended against him, but prevented by justice Benson, and some considerable men besides. Coming to Grayrigg, he had a meeting there; where a priest came to oppose, but was confounded; and there being many people, some of the milk-pails that stood upon the side of the house, tumbled down by reason of the crowd; from which the priest afterwards raised a slander, that

the devil frightened him, and took away one side of the house. And though this was a known falsehood, yet it was given out as true in public print.

Another time this priest came to another meeting, and fell to jangling; saying first, that the Scriptures were the word of God. To which G. Fox said, 'that they were the words of God, but not Christ, who is the Word.' And when he urged the priest for proof of what he had said, the priest, being at a loss, was not long before he went away. Some time after, coming again into a meeting, and hearing that G. Fox directed the people to Christ Jesus, the priest taking out his Bible, said, it was the word of God. Then G. Fox told him, it was the words of God; but not God, the Word. The priest however persisted in what he had said; and offered to prove before all the people, the Scriptures to be the word of God. But this quarrel tending to vain logomachies, or contests about words, ended in confusion; and many of the priest's followers came to see the vanity of his assertions.

The year being now come to an end, and a war kindled between England and Holland, king Charles II. then in exile, asked the Dutch to be received in their navy as a volunteer, without any command: but this was courteously refused by the States General. Oliver Cromwell, in the meanwhile, strove for the supreme authority in England, the more, because he perceived how some of the parliament, jealous of his increasing greatness, endeavoured to cross him in his design. This made him labour to get the parliament dissolved: but they not going on so quickly as he would have them, to put a period to their sitting, he resolved arbitrarily to make an end of them. And entering the house in the month called April, 1653, after having rudely inveighed against them, by telling them that they had made a bad use of their authority, and that without their dissolution the realm would not be safe, &c. he at length cried out, 'You are no parliament:' and then ordering some musqueteers to enter, he made the members depart the house, and ordered the doors to be shut: thus putting an end to this assembly, that had been sitting nigh thirteen years.

But what is remarkable, G. Fox not long before being come to Swarthmore, and hearing judge Fell and justice Benson discoursing together concerning the parliament, he told them, 'That before that day two weeks the parliament should be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair.' And thus it really happened: for at the breaking up of the parliament the speaker being unwilling to come out of his chair, said, that he would not come down unless he were forced: which made general Harrison say to him, 'Sir, I will lend you my hand;' and thereupon taking him by the hand, the speaker came down. This agreed with what G. Fox had predicted. And a fortnight after, justice Benson

told judge Fell, that now he saw George was a true prophet ; since Oliver had by that time dissolved the parliament.

Now in Cumberland great threatenings were spread, that if ever G. Fox came there again, they would take away his life. He hearing this, went thither ; but nobody did him any harm. Returning then to Swarthmore, where justice Anthony Pearson was at that time ; he so effectually declared truth, that this justice was convinced, and not long after entered into the society of the despised Quakers.

G. Fox then, going again into Cumberland, went to Bootle, and there found preaching in the steeple-house, a priest from London, who gathered up all the Scriptures he could think of, that speak of false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, and made application of them to the Quakers. But when he had done, George began to speak, and returned all those Scripture places on the priest ; who being displeased at this, said that he must not speak there. But G. Fox told him, that the hour-glass being run, and he having done, the time was free for him, as well as for the priest, who was himself but a stranger there. He having said this, went on, and showed who were the false prophets, and what marks the Scriptures gave them ; directing people to Christ their teacher. When he had done, the priest of the place made a speech to the people in the steeple-house yard, and said, ‘ This man hath gotten all the honest men and women in Lancashire to him ; and now he comes here to do the same.’ To which G. Fox returned, ‘ What wilt thou have left ? and what have the priests left them, but such as themselves ? for if it be the honest that receive the truth and are turned to Christ, then it must be the dishonest that follow thee, and such as thou art.’ Some words were also exchanged about tithes ; and G. Fox told them, that Christ had ended the tithing priesthood, and had sent forth his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely.

From thence he went to Cockermouth, near which place he had appointed a meeting ; and coming thither he found James Lancaster speaking under a tree, which was so full of people, that it was in danger of breaking. G. Fox now looked about for a place to stand upon, for the people lay spread up and down. But at length a person came to him, and asked if he would not go into church. He seeing no place more convenient to speak to the people, told him, yes. Whereupon the people rushed in on a sudden, so that the house was so full of people, he had much ado to get in. When they were settled he stood up on a seat, and preached about three hours ; and several hundreds were that day convinced of the truth of his doctrine.

From thence he went to other places, and particularly to Brigham, where he preached in the steeple-house with no less success.

Afterwards coming into a certain place, and casting his eye upon a woman unknown to him, he told her that she had lived a lewd life; to which she answered, that many could tell her of her outward sins, but of her inward, none could. Then he told her, her heart was not right before the Lord; and she was so reached, that afterwards she came to be convinced of God's truth.

Then he came near Coldbeck, to a market town, where he had a meeting at the cross, and some received the truth preached by him.

From thence he went to Carlisle, where the teacher of the Baptists, with most of his hearers, came to the abbey, in which G. Fox had a meeting. After the meeting the Baptist teacher, who was a notionist, and an airy man, came to him, and asked, what must be damned? and he told him, that which spake in him was to be damned. And this stopt his mouth. Then he opened to him the states of election and reprobation, so that he said, he never heard the like in his life, and came afterwards also to be convinced of the truth. Then he went up to the castle among the soldiers, who, by beating of the drum, called the garrison together. Among these he preached; directing them to the measure of the Spirit of Christ in themselves, by which they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God: he warned them also to do no violence to any man, &c. G. Fox having thus discharged himself, none opposed him except the sergeants, who afterwards came to be convinced. On the market-day he went into the market, though he had been threatened, that if he came there, he would meet with rude treatment. But he, willing to obey God more than man, showed himself undaunted, and going upon the cross, he declared that the day of the Lord was coming upon all deceitful ways and doings, and deceitful merchandize: and that they should put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to yea and nay, and speak the truth to one another.

On the first-day following, he went into the steeple-house, and after the priest had done, he began to preach. Now the priest going away, and the magistrate desiring G. Fox to depart, he still went on, and told them, he came to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them. And he spoke so powerfully, that the people trembled and shook, and they thought the steeple-house shook also: nay, some of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. Some women in the meanwhile making a great bustle, at length the rude people of the city rose, and came with staves and stones into the steeple-house; whereupon the governor sent some musqueteers to appease the tumult; and these, taking G. Fox by the hand in a friendly manner, led him out. Then he came to the house of a lieutenant, where he had a very quiet meeting. The next day the justices and magis-

trates sent for him to come before them in the town-hall. So he went thither, and had a long discourse with them concerning religion, and showed them that though they were great professors, (viz. Presbyterians and Independents,) yet they were without the possession of what they professed. But after a long examination they committed him to prison as a blasphemer, an heretic and a seducer. There he lay till the assizes came on, and then all the talk was, that he was to be hanged; and the high sheriff, Wilfrey Lawson, was so eager to have his life taken away, that he said, he himself would guard G. Fox to execution. This made such a noise, that even great ladies came to see him, as one that was to die. But though both judge and magistrates were contriving how they might put him to death, yet the judge's clerk started a question, which puzzled them, and confounded their counsels, so that he was not brought to a trial, as was expected; which, however, was contrary to law. But such was their envy against him, that the gaoler was ordered to put him among thieves and murderers, and some naughty women; which wicked crew was so lousy, that one woman was almost eaten to death with lice: but what made the prison the worse, there was no house of office to it, and in this nasty place men and women were put together, against all decency. Yet these prisoners, how naught soever, were very loving to G. Fox, and so hearkened to his wholesome counsel, that some of them became converts. But the under gaoler did him all the mischief he could. Once when he had been at the grate, to take in the meat his friends brought him, the gaoler fell a beating him with a great cudgel, crying, 'Come out of the window,' though he was then far enough from it. But whilst the gaoler was thus beating him, he was so filled with joy, that he began to sing, which made the other rage the more, so that he went and fetched a fiddler, thinking thereby to vex him. But when this fellow played, he sang a hymn so loud, that with his voice he drowned the sound of the fiddle, and thereby so confounded the player, that he was fain to give over and go his ways.

Not long after, justice Benson's wife felt herself moved to eat no meat, but what she should eat with G. Fox, at the bars of the dungeon-window. Afterwards she herself was imprisoned at York, when she was big with child, for having spoken, it is like, zealously to a priest. And when the time of her travail came, she was not suffered to go out, but was delivered of her child in the prison.

Whilst G. Fox was in the dungeon at Carlisle, there came to see him one James Parnel, a little lad of about sixteen years of age; and he was so effectually reached by the speaking of G. Fox, that he became convinced of the truth of his sayings; and notwithstanding his youth, was by the Lord quickly made a powerful minister of the gospel, showing himself, both with his pen and his tongue, a zealous promoter of religion, although he under-

went hard sufferings on that account, as will be mentioned hereafter.

There were also many others, who not sticking at any adversities, came to be zealous preachers of repentance; among these was Thomas Briggs, already mentioned, who went through many cities, towns, and villages, with this message: 'Repent, repent, for the mighty terrible day of the Lord God of power is appearing, wherein no worker of iniquity shall stand before him, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity: for he wills not the death of a sinner; and if ye repent, and turn to him, he will abundantly pardon.' Sometimes he went into markets and steeple-houses, and was often cruelly abused. Once being in a steeple-house, at Warrington in Lancashire, and speaking a few words after the priest had done, he was very violently knocked on his head: after which, a man taking hold of his hair smote him against a stone, and pulled off a handful of it, which Thomas taking up from the ground, mildly said, 'Not one hair of my head shall fall without my Father's permission.' At another time, he speaking to a priest in Cheshire, as he was going on his journey, the priest was much offended at him; and one of his hearers, as it were in revenge of this pretended affront, struck him on the head, and knocked him down; but Thomas getting up again, and turning his face to the smiter, he smote him on his teeth, so that the blood gushed out exceedingly; which some of the standers by could not but cry out against. But not long after, the man that struck him thus, fell sick, and died, crying upon his death-bed, 'Oh, that I had not smitten the Quaker!' This Thomas once going through Salisbury, and calling the inhabitants to repentance, was apprehended, and brought before several justices, who proffered him the oath, under pretence of his being a Jesuit: but he saying, he could not swear, because Christ had commanded, not to swear at all, was sent to prison, where he was kept a month. He also went up and down the streets of Yarmouth, proclaiming the terrible day of the Lord, that all might repent, and fear Him that made heaven and earth, and the sea. And being followed by a great multitude of rude people, and turning about, he spoke so powerfully to them, and with such piercing words, that they ran away for fear. At length an officer came and took hold of him, but leading him gently, he had opportunity to continue preaching to the people, and to clear himself. Being brought before the magistrates, they ordered him to be led out of the town; which being done, Thomas came in again by another way, and having performed his service there to his satisfaction, he departed the town.

When he came to Lynn, and warned people to repent, a great mastiff dog was set upon him, but the dog coming near him, fawned upon him. Thus he went through many places, passing

sometimes five or six towns in one day; and though swords were drawn against him, or axes taken up to hew him down, yet he went on, and spoke so awfully, that even some, who did not see his face, were so reached by the power that accompanied him, that they became converts. Coming to Clanzous in Wales, and many hearing him attentively, the constable stirred up the rude people, and cried, 'Kill him; kill him;' as if he had been a mad dog; and they threw such great stones upon him; that he admired they did not kill him; but he was preserved by such a mighty power, that according to his relation, they were to him as a nut, or a bean. Many other rude encounters he met with, but was preserved wonderfully in the greatest dangers; which strengthened him not a little in the belief, that God, who so miraculously saved him, did require this service from him. He was also in America, and died in a good old age, after having laboured above thirty years in the service of the gospel.

Miles Halhead was also one of the first zealous preachers among the Quakers so called. He was the first of those of his persuasion, that was imprisoned at Kendal. Once he went to Swarthmore to visit his friends, and to assist at their meeting; by the way, he met the wife of justice Thomas Preston, and because he passed by her quietly, without the ordinary way of greeting, she grew so offended, that she commanded her man to go back and beat him; which he did. At which Miles being kindled with zeal, said to her, 'O thou Jezebel! Thou proud Jezebel! Canst thou not permit and suffer the servant of the Lord to pass by thee quietly? She then held forth her hands, as if she would have struck him, and spit in his face, saying, 'I scorn to fall down at thy words.' This made Miles say again, 'Thou proud Jezebel, thou that hardenest thy heart, and brazenest thy face against the Lord and his servant, the Lord will plead with thee in his own time, and set in order before thee, the things that thou hast done this day to his servant.' And so he parted with her, and went to Swarthmore. About three months after this, he felt himself moved to go and speak to her; and when he came to Houlker Hall, he asked for Thomas Preston's wife: she then coming to the door, and Miles not knowing her, asked her, if she was the woman of the house; to which she said, 'No: but if you would speak with Mrs. Preston, I will intreat her to come to you.' Then she went in, and coming back with another woman, said, 'Here is mistress Preston:' but then it was manifested to him, that she herself was the woman. It is true, as hath been said, some time before he had seen her on the way, and spoken to her; but it may be, she was then in so different a dress, that by reason thereof he did not know her; yet firmly believing that it was she, he said, 'Woman, how darest thou lie before the Lord and his servant? Thou art the woman I came to speak to.' And she

being silent, not speaking a word, he proceeded, 'Woman, hear what the Lord's servant hath to say unto thee: O woman, harden not thy heart against the Lord; for if thou dost, he will cut thee off in his sore displeasure; therefore take warning in time, and fear the Lord God of heaven and earth, that thou mayest end thy days in peace.' Having said this, he went away, she, how proud soever, not doing him any harm, being withheld, without knowing by what. But, notwithstanding that, she continued the same: for several years after, when G. Fox was prisoner at Lancaster, she came to him, and belched out many railing words, saying, amongst the rest, that his tongue should be cut off, and he be hanged. But some time after, the Lord cut her off, and she died, as it was reported, in a miserable condition. But before I leave this woman, I must also say, that about three years after she had made her man beat Miles, it happened that as he was riding from Swarthmore, near to Houlker Hall, he met with a person who said to him, 'Friend, I have something to say unto you, which hath lain upon me this long time. I am the man that, about three years ago, at the command of my mistress, did beat you very sore; for which I have been very much troubled, more than for any thing that I ever did in all my life: for truly, night and day it hath been often in my heart, that I did not well in beating an innocent man, that never did me any hurt or harm. I pray you forgive me, and desire the Lord to forgive me, that I may be at peace and quiet in my mind.' To this Miles answered, 'Truly, friend, from that time to this day, I never had any thing in my heart against thee, nor thy mistress, but love. The Lord forgive you both; I desire that it never may be laid to your charge; for ye knew not what ye did.' Here Miles stopped, and so went his ways. Many a notable occurrence he had in his life, and therefore he is to appear yet more than once in the course of this history.

Travelling once in Yorkshire, he came to Skipton, where declaring the word of truth, he was so sorely abused and beaten, that he was laid for dead; nevertheless, by the Lord's power, he was healed of all his bruises, and within three hours he was healthy and sound again, to the astonishment of those that had so abused him, and to the convincing of many that beheld him.

Then he went to Bradford, Leeds, and Halifax, where he also declared the doctrine of truth amongst the people; but not without meeting with great persecution.

From thence he came to Doncaster, and there went on a first-day of the week to a steeple-house, where, after the worship was done, he spoke to the priest and people: but they, instead of hearkening to what he said, fell upon him in a great rage, and drove him out of the town; and he being sorely bruised, they left him for dead. But before his going from home, he had been firmly

persuaded that the Lord would preserve him in all dangers : and it happened so to him according to his belief ; for he got up again, and went to a friend's house, where he laid himself down upon a bed. But not long after, he felt a very strong motion to go to a certain chapel, and there to declare the word of the Lord : forthwith he felt also an inward assurance, that if he gave up to do so, the Lord would heal him from his bruises. Then he rose, as well as he could, and came down stairs with great difficulty, by taking hold of the walls for a stay, and going out he began to mend by degrees ; and coming at length into the chapel, he spake as he was moved ; and when he had cleared himself, he went back to the house from whence he came, and the Lord made him sound of all his bruises.

From thence he went to York, and there spoke to the lord mayor, and other rulers of that city : and passing through Yorkshire, he went into several steeple-houses, to exhort the people ; and though he met with great hardships, yet he was supported by an invisible hand. So being clear of that country, he returned to his house at Mountjoy, in Under-barrow, in the county of Westmoreland. But his going thus often from home, was an exceeding great cross to his wife, who in the first year of his change, not being of his persuasion, was very much troubled in her mind, and would often say from discontent, ' Would to God I had married a drunkard, then I might have found him at the alehouse ; but now I cannot tell where to find my husband.' But after the space of a year, it pleased the Lord to visit her. She had a little son of about five years of age, which child she loved extraordinarily, inso-much that she thought it was her only delight and comfort ; but it happened that this darling died, and some time after, she spoke thus to her husband : ' Truly, husband, I have something to tell thee : one night being in bed, mourning and lamenting with tears in my eyes, I heard a voice, saying, ' Why art thou so discontented concerning thy husband ? I have called and chosen him to my work ; my right hand shall uphold him. Therefore be thou content and pleased, that he serve me, and I will bless thee, and thy children for his sake ; and all things shall prosper that thou shalt take in hand. But if thou wilt not be content, but grudge, and murmur, and repine against me, and my servant, whom I have chosen to do my work, I will bring a greater cross upon thee.' These words being fresh in my mind both night and day, I often said within myself, What cross can this be, that would be greater than the want of my husband ? But for all this, I could not be content : all the joy I had, or could find, was in our little boy, who would often, when he saw me weeping and mourning, take me about my neck, and say, ' My dear mother, pray be content, for my father will come home in a little time. This child would often comfort me in this manner ? but for all that, I could not be con-

tent. Not long after, it pleased the Lord to take from me this my only son, my chiefest joy. Then the voice which I had heard came into my mind, and I perceiving that this was the cross which the Lord would bring upon me, smote upon my breast, and said within myself, that I was the very cause why the Lord had taken away my little son. A great fear then seizing upon me, I said, O Lord my God! give me power to be content to give up my husband freely to do thy will, lest, O Lord, thou take away from me all my children. From that time I never durst oppose thee, my husband, any more in the work of the Lord, for fear that his judgments might also fall upon me, and my children.' This served not a little to strengthen and encourage Miles.

Some time after, walking in his garden, he felt a motion to go to Stanley chapel, in Lancashire. Now, though he might expect to meet with rude entertainment there, yet he consulted not with flesh and blood, but went to the aforesaid chapel. Being come, he was not suffered to enter, but the door was violently turned against him. Then he walked in the yard till the worship was done, and the people that came out (one may guess how edified) fell upon him with great rage, and one captain William Rawlinson, took hold of his arms and shoulders, and calling another man to take him by the feet and legs, they threw him over the wall: by which fall he was exceedingly bruised, so that he had much to do to get home. By the way it was inwardly said to him, that he must be content with what was befallen him that day, and that if he was faithful in what the Lord required of him, then he would heal him again. Being come home, he waited upon the Lord to know his will. In this resignedness, within six days, he was moved to go to Windermore steeple-house, and it was, as it were, said unto him, 'Fear not the face of any man, but speak the word of the Lord freely; and then thou shalt be made sound again of all thy bruises.' So he went to the said steeple-house, and having spoken the word of the Lord to the priest and people, without receiving any harm, he was healed that day of his sore bruises.

Some time after by another motion, he came to Furness in Lancashire, to the house of captain Adam Sands, where he found a great number of professors gathered, and priest Lampitt preaching. But as soon as Miles entered, Lampitt was silent, which continuing a pretty while, captain Sands said to him, 'Sir, what is the matter: are you not well?' To which the priest answered, 'I am well, but I shall speak no more as long as this dumb devil is in the house.' 'A dumb devil,' said the captain, 'where is he?' 'This is he,' said the priest, pointing with his hand, 'that standeth there.' Then the captain said, 'This man is quiet, and saith nothing to you: I pray you, sir, go on in the name of the Lord: and if he trouble or molest you in my house, I will send him to Lancaster castle.' But the priest said again, 'I shall not preach

as long as this dumb devil is in the house.' Then the captain said to one Camelford, a priest also, 'I pray you, sir, stand up, and exercise your gift, and I will see that you be not disturbed.' But the priest answered as the other, 'I shall not speak as long as this dumb devil is in the house.' Then the people cried, 'Lord rebuke thee, Satan; Lord rebuke thee, Satan; what manner of spirit is this that stops our ministers' mouths?' Then the captain came to Miles, and taking him by the hand, led him out of the house. In all that time he had not spoke a word, and saw now the accomplishment of what he had been persuaded of before, viz. that an invisible power would confound by him the wisdom of the priests, when he spoke never a word. The said Camelford was one who, a good while before, had stirred up the rabble against G. Fox; and the other was that Lampitt, who has been mentioned already, and who had been so esteemed by Margaret Fell before she came to be acquainted with G. Fox.

Some time after this occurrence, Miles went to Newcastle, and there said to the mayor, rulers, and priests of that town, that God's anger was kindled against them, because they had shut the kingdom of heaven against men, and would not enter themselves, nor suffer them that would. Because of this he was imprisoned: but the mayor being much troubled, sent for the sheriff, for these two had committed Miles; when come, he said to him, 'We have not done well in committing an innocent man to prison: pray let us release him.' The sheriff consenting, Miles was set at liberty. Then he declared the word of the Lord in those parts, and many were convinced of the truth held forth by him. But now I part with this Miles Halhead, who hereafter is to be mentioned again.

About this time, viz. in the summer, general Cromwell had called a new parliament, consisting mostly (as hath been said by some) of members of his own choice; for it was a certain number of persons out of each county and city in England, Scotland, and Ireland, nominated by the council of officers, and sent for to meet at Westminster. Into the hands of these, Cromwell delivered the supreme authority of the nation, by an instrument, or commission, signed by himself and the officers; but the authority of this meeting lasted scarce half a year, as will be said in the sequel.

To this parliament a report was made, that at Carlisle, a person was imprisoned, who was to die for religion. This was G. Fox, whom we have left thus long in the dungeon at Carlisle, and now are returning to him again. The parliament then caused a letter to be sent down concerning him to the sheriff, and other magistrates. And G. Fox knowing how scandalously he had been belied, about speaking blasphemous words, gave forth a paper, wherein he challenged all who found fault with his doctrine, to

appear in public ; since he was ready to stand the test of whatsoever he might have spoken. He also wrote a significant letter to the justices at Carlisle, wherein he showed them plainly the injustice of their dealings, and the horrid evil of persecution, as having been always the work of the false church. Mention hath been made already of the justices Benson and Anthony Pearson : these had, more than once, desired leave to visit G. Fox in prison ; but this having been denied them, they wrote a letter to the magistrates, priests, and people at Carlisle, wherein they emphatically described the wickedness of persecution, and what would be the reward of persecutors ; saying also, that these were worse than the heathen that put Paul into prison ; because none of his friends or acquaintance were hindered by them from coming to him. However, at length Pearson got an opportunity to come with the governor into the dungeon where G. Fox was kept, and they found the place so bad, and of so noisome a smell, that the governor cried shame of the magistrate, for suffering the gaoler to treat G. Fox after such a manner ; and calling the gaolers into the dungeon, required them to find sureties for their good behaviour, and put the under gaoler, who had been very cruel to G. Fox, into the dungeon with him. In the meanwhile, those who had imprisoned G. Fox, began to grow afraid, the rather it may be, because the parliament took notice of these doings ; and it was not long after that he was released ; and then coming to the house of one Thomas Bewley, near Coldbeck, in Cumberland, there came a Baptist teacher to oppose him : but he found what G. Fox spoke to be so efficacious, that he became convinced of the truth thereof.

At that time there was also Robert Widders, who being moved to go to Coldbeck steeple-house, the Baptist teacher went with him. Widders coming into the steeple-house, there was one Hutton preaching, to whom he spoke : but the rude people threw him down, and dragged him into the yard, where they pushed and beat him till the blood gushed out of his mouth, so that he lay for dead some time ; but a certain woman coming to him, held up his head, so that at length he recovered his breath. The Baptist who went along with him, had his sword taken from him, and was sorely beaten with it ; yet this did not frighten or discourage him : and he not only left off the wearing of a sword, but also freely gave up the inheritance of an impropriation of tithes.

The same day that this preacher was thus attacked with his own sword, being the first of the week, several of G. Fox's friends, and among them William Dewsbury, went, one to this, and others to other steeple-houses ; and by such means the number of the said friends increased : though Dewsbury at that

time was so violently beaten by the people that he was almost killed ; but the Lord's power healed him.

But to return to Robert Widders : he being recovered from the rude treatment he met with, as hath been said, felt himself so encouraged anew, and strengthened in his undertakings, that he went, the same day in the afternoon, seven miles to Acton steeple-house, where he spoke to priest Nichols, and calling him an enemy of Christ, told him also, that the hand of the Lord was against him. Then William Briscoe, a justice of Crofton, commanded the constable to secure Robert ; which he did, and carried him to the priest's house ; where being examined by the justice, the priest began to fawn upon him. Thereupon Robert told the priest, that the spirit of persecution lodged in him. But the priest said, ' No, he was not such a man.' Yet presently after, he said to the justice, that Robert had stolen the horse he came with ; and, that he could find in his heart to become his executioner with his own hands : which made Robert say, ' Did I not say unto thee, that the spirit of persecution lodged in thee ?' Then the aforesaid justice writ a warrant to send Robert to Carlisle gaol ; and after having given the warrant to the constable, he asked Robert, by what authority or power he came to seduce and bewitch the people ? Robert answered ' I came not to seduce and bewitch people, but I came in that power which shall make thee, and all the powers of the earth, bend and bow down before it, to wit, the mighty power of God.' Whilst Robert was speaking thus, the dread of the Lord seized on the justice, and so struck him, that he called for his warrant again, and took it out of the constable's hand, suffering Robert, about night, to go away.

He being thus freed, did not leave visiting the steeple-houses from time to time, for which he was sometimes imprisoned, and at other times was saved remarkably. Once coming near Skipton in Yorkshire, at the steeple-house he spoke very sharply to the priest, Webster ; since he was one that had been partly convinced of the doctrine of the inward light, but becoming disobedient thereunto, was turned back again. He also spoke to the people, and to justice Coats, bidding them to mind the word of God in the heart, which divided between the precious and the vile. After having cleared himself, he went to a place where a few of his friends were met together ; but he had not been long there, when there came some horsemen and foot, who took him away, and carried him to the said justice ; who examining him, said, he had broken the law, by disturbing the minister and the people, and that he might send him prisoner to York castle. Robert answered, ' Send me to gaol thither, if thou darest ; for I appeal to the witness of God in thy conscience.' But the justice being a

moderate man, said, 'I neither dare nor will;' and taking Robert by the hand, told him, he might take his own time in going away.

To relate all the occurrences of this Robert Widders, would be too prolix; therefore I will only say, that as he was very zealous in speaking to the priests, so he suffered very much in his estate, because for conscience-sake he refused to pay them tithes; and on that account there was taken from him, at sundry times, to the value of £143, besides what he suffered for meetings, and for Sunday shillings, so called, which also amounted to a considerable sum. And this not only befel him, but it was the portion of many hundreds, nay, perhaps thousands of those of his persuasion. Wherefore I will not undertake to relate all that might be mentioned of this kind; for that would be beyond my reach.

However, by this that hath been said, may be seen, by what means the Quakers, so called, grew so numerous in those early times. As on one hand there were raised zealous preachers; so on the other, there were abundance of people in England, who, having searched all sects, could no where find satisfaction for their hungry souls. And these now understanding that God by his light was so near in their hearts, began to take heed thereunto, and soon found that this gave them far more victory over the corruption of their minds, under which they had long groaned, than all the self-willed worships which they with some zeal had performed many years. And besides those that were thus prepared to receive a further manifestation of the way of life, there were also many of a rude life, who being pricked to the heart, and brought over by the Christian patience of the despised Quakers, became as zealous in doing good, as formerly they had been in working evil.

Perhaps some will think it was very indecent that they went so frequently to the steeple-houses, and there spoke to the priests: but whatsoever any may judge concerning this, it is certain that those teachers generally did not bring forth the fruits of godliness, as was well known to those who themselves had been priests, and freely resigned their ministry, thenceforth to follow Christ in the way of his cross; and these were none of the least zealous against that society among whom they formerly had ministered with an upright zeal. Yet they were not for using sharp language against such teachers, who, according to their knowledge, feared God; but they levelled their aim chiefly against those, who were only rich in words, without bringing forth true Christian fruits, and works of justice. Hence it was that one Thomas Curtis, who was formerly a captain in the parliament army, but afterwards entered into the society of the people called Quakers, wrote, in a letter to Samuel Wells, priest of Banbury, and a per-

secutor of those of that persuasion, amongst other things, these words: 'To thy shame, remember I know thee scandalous: how often hast thou sat, evening after evening, at cards, and sometimes whole nights, playing, and sometimes compelling me to play with thee for money; yet then thou wast called of the world a minister; and now art thou turned persecutor,' &c. None therefore need think it strange, that those called Quakers did look upon such teachers as hirelings: and that there were not a few of that sort, appeared plainly when king Charles II. was restored; for those who had formerly cried out against episcopacy, and its liturgy, as false and idolatrous, then became turncoats, and put on the surplice, to keep in the possession of their livings and benefices. But by so doing, these hypocrites lost not a few of their auditors, for this opened the eyes of many, who began to inquire into the doctrine of the despised Quakers, and saw that they had a more sure foundation, and that this it was which made them stand unshaken against the fury of persecution.

Let us again take up the thread of these transactions which concern G. Fox: who now travelling through many places in the north of England, had every where great meetings; but now and then met with some opposition; sometimes with hands, and at others with the tongue. Among the rest, at Derwentwater, in Northumberland; where in a dispute recommending perfection, he was contradicted; but to prove his position, he said, that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God made was perfect; and that the imperfection came by the devil and the fall; but that Christ, who came to destroy the devil, said, 'Be ye perfect.' To this one of the professors answered, that Job said, 'Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? The heavens are not clean in his sight. God charged his angels with folly.' But G. Fox showed him his mistake, and told him that it was not Job that said so, but one of those that contended against him. Then the professors said, the outward body was the body of death and sin; but G. Fox replied, that Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body of death and sin got into them; and that men would have bodies, when the body of sin and death was put off again, and they were renewed into the image of God again by Christ Jesus.

Thus G. Fox found work almost every where, and passing to Hexham, he had a great meeting there on the top of a hill. The priest indeed had threatened that he would come and oppose; but he came not.

G. Fox then travelling on, came into Cumberland, where he had a meeting of many thousands of people on a hill near Langlands. Once he came into Brigham steeple-house, before the

priest was there, and declared the Truth to the people; but when the priest came in, he began to oppose, but was wearied so, that at length he went away.

There being now also several others who preached the doctrine of the inward light of God which convinceth man of sin, the number of those professors of the light increased greatly. And as it had been said at first, that they should be destroyed within a short time; so now the priests began to say, that they would eat out one another. For many of them, after meetings, having a great way to go, staid at their friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lodge in, so that some lay on the hay-mows. This made some of the public church grow afraid, that this hospitality would cause poverty, and that when these friends had eaten out one another, they would come to be maintained by the parishes, and so be chargeable to them. But it fell out quite otherwise, for these people were the more blessed, and increased without falling into want. This puts me in mind of what one of the daughters of judge Thomas Fell once told me, viz. that her father having been abroad, and coming home with his servants, found the shed so full of the horses of strange guests, (for Margaret his wife had cleared the stable where they first stood, to make room for her husband's own horses,) that he said to his wife, this was the way to be eaten out, and that thus they themselves should soon be in want of hay. But to this Margaret said, in a friendly way, that she did not believe when the year was at an end, that they should have the less for that. And it so fell out; for this year their stock of hay was such, that they sold a great parcel of what they had in abundance. Thus the proverb was verified, that charity doth not impoverish. The truth of this was also experienced by those called Quakers; for though many people at first were shy, and would not deal with them, because of their nonconformity with the vulgar salutation, and their saying 'Thou' and 'Thee' to a single person, instead of 'You,' &c. insomuch, that some that were tradesmen lost their customers, and could hardly get money enough to buy bread; yet this changed in time, when people found by experience they could better trust to the word of these, than to that of those of their own persuasion. Hence it was, that often when any came into a town, and wanted something, they would ask, where dwells a draper, or taylor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman, that is a Quaker? But this so exasperated others, that they began to cry out, If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands. Now the cause of their trades thus increasing was, because they were found upright in their dealings; for integrity did then shine out among them above many others: to this the true fear of God led them,

and to this they were exhorted from time to time. G. Fox also writ a general epistle to them, which was as followeth :

‘ To you all, Friends every where, scattered abroad.

‘ In the measure of the life of God, wait for wisdom from God, even from him, from whence it comes. And all ye, who be babes of God, wait for the living food from the living God to be nourished up to eternal life, from the one fountain, from whence life comes ; that orderly, and in order, ye may all be guided and walk : servants in your places, young men and young women in your places, and rulers of families ; that every one, in your respective places, may adorn the Truth, every one in the measure of it. With it, let your minds be kept up to the Lord Jesus, from whence it doth come ; that a sweet savour ye may be to God, and in wisdom ye may all be ordered and ruled ; that a crown and a glory ye may be one to another in the Lord. And that no strife, nor bitterness, nor self-will may appear amongst you ; but with the light, in which the unity is, all that may be condemned. And that every one in particular may see to, and take care of, the ordering and ruling of their own family ; that in righteousness and wisdom it may be governed, the fear and dread of the Lord in every one’s heart set, that the secrets of the Lord every one may come to receive, that stewards of his grace you may come to be, to dispense it to every one as they have need ; and so, in savouring and right discerning, you may all be kept : that nothing that is contrary to the pure life of God, may be brought forth in you, or among you ; but all that is contrary to it, may by it be judged : so that in light, in life, and love, ye may all live ; and all that is contrary to the light, and life, and love, may be brought to judgment, and by that light condemned. And that no fruitless trees be among you ; but all cut down and condemned by the light, and cast into the fire : so that every one may bear and bring forth fruit to God, and grow fruitful in his knowledge, and in his wisdom. And so that none may appear in words beyond what they be in the life, that gave forth the words : here none shall be as the untimely figs : and none shall be of those trees, whose fruit withers : such go in Cain’s way, from the light ; and by it are condemned. And that none amongst you boast yourselves above your measure ; for if you do, out of God’s kingdom you are excluded : for in that boasting part gets up the pride, and the strife, which is contrary to the light ; which light leads to the kingdom of God ; and gives every one of you an entrance thereinto, and an understanding, to know the things that belong to the kingdom of God. And there the light and life of man every one receives, him who was before the world was, by whom it was made : who is the righteousness of God, and his

wisdom : to whom all glory, honour, thanks, and praise belong, who is God blessed for ever. Let no image, nor likeness be made ; but in the light wait, which will bring condemnation on that part, that would make the images ; for that prisons the just. So to the lust yield not the eye, nor the flesh ; for the pride of life stands in that which keeps out of the love of the Father ; and upon which his judgments and wrath remain, where the love of the world is sought after, and a crown that is mortal : in which ground the evil enters, which is cursed, which brings forth briars and thorns, where the death reigns, and tribulation and anguish is upon every soul, and the Egyptian tongue is heard : all which is by the light condemned. And there the earth is, which must be removed ; by the light it is seen, and by the power it is removed, and out of its place it is shaken ; to which the thunders utter their voices, before the mysteries of God be opened, and Jesus revealed. Therefore all ye whose minds are turned to this light, (which brings condemnation upon all those things before-mentioned, that are contrary to the light) wait upon the Lord Jesus for the crown that is immortal, and that fadeth not away.

G. F.'

This epistle he sent to be read at the meetings of his friends. Not long after, a certain priest of Wrexham in Wales, whose name was Morgan Floyd, sent two of his congregation into the north of England, to inquire what kind of people the Quakers were. These two coming thither, found the doctrine of the said people such, that they became convinced of the truth thereof, and so embraced it ; and after some stay, they returned home. One of these was called John ap-John, and, continuing faithful, became a minister of the gospel he had thus received ; but the other afterwards departed from his conviction.

Let us now take a short view of state affairs in England. We have seen already Cromwell's power so great, that he ventured to dissolve the long parliament, and that he called another in its room. But before the year's end, this parliament resigned their power into the hands of Cromwell, from whom they had received it. Thus he, with his council of field-officers, saw himself again in the possession of the supreme government : and it was not long before this council declared : ' that henceforth the chief rule of the nation should be entrusted to a single person, and that this person should be Oliver Cromwell, chief general of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland ; that his title should be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the dominions belonging thereunto ; and he was to have a council of twenty-one persons to assist him in the government.'

This matter being thus stated, the commissioners of the great

seal, and the lord mayor and aldermen of London, were required, on the 16th of December, to attend Cromwell and his council, in Westminster-hall. Being come thither, the instrument of government was read, whereby Cromwell was declared Protector, he standing all this while bare-headed, and major-general Lambert kneeling, presented him with a sword in the scabbard, representing the civil sword: which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, to intimate thereby, that he would no longer rule by the military sword. The said instrument being writ on parchment, contained, ‘That the protector was to call a parliament every three years; that their first meeting should be on the 13th of September next ensuing: that he should not be permitted to dissolve a parliament, before it had sat five months; that the bills presented to him for his consent, if he did not confirm them within twenty days, should have the force of laws; that he was to have a council, who were not to exceed the number of twenty-one, and not to be under thirteen; that forthwith after his death, the council was to choose another protector; that no protector after him, should be capable of being chief general of the army; and that it should be in the power of the protector to make war and peace.’ Whilst this instrument was reading, Cromwell held his hand on the Bible, and afterwards took the oath, that he would perform all that was contained therein. This being done, he covered himself, all the others remaining uncovered. Then the commissioners delivered the seals to him, and the lord mayor of London the sword; all which he restored again, with an exhortation to use them well. Afterwards general Lambert carried the sword before him to his coach, in which he went to Whitehall, where he was proclaimed protector, which was done also in the city of London. Now he was attended like a prince, and he created knights, as kings used to do. Thus Cromwell, by a singular, and very strange turn of mundane affairs, saw himself placed in the palace, from whence he and his adherents had cast out king Charles the first.

THE THIRD BOOK.

OLIVER CROMWELL, in the beginning of the year 1654, seeing himself invested with the supreme authority of the nation, required, both of the soldiers and others, the oath of fidelity. But since amongst the first, there were many, who, though convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Quakers so called, yet had not convenient opportunity to leave the military service, it now presented itself: for when the oath was tendered them, they declared that in obedience to Christ's command, they could not swear; whereupon they were disbanded. Among these was John Stubbs, a man skilled not only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also in the Oriental languages: he was convinced by G. Fox, when in Carlisle prison, and became afterwards a faithful minister of the gospel. But some of the soldiers, who had been convinced in their judgment, not continuing steadfast, took the required oath, but not long outlived it; for marching afterwards into Scotland, and passing by a garrison there, these, thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, whereby several were killed.

G. Fox now seeing the churches of his friends in the north settled, passed from Swarthmore (where he was about the beginning of this year) to Lancaster, and from thence to Synderhill-green, where he had a great meeting of some thousands of people, among whom were many persons of note; and a general conviction there was, so that a great number entered into the communion of those called Quakers: with whom about this time, Ambrose Rigge was also united, who having been inclined to godliness from a youth, hearing G. Fox preach, and being convinced of the truth of the doctrine he taught, received it, and became a professor of it, though for that reason he was cast out by his parents and relations.

We have seen the first rise of these Christians, called Quakers, in the north of England, and how they increased under the oppression of persecution, so that in most places in those parts meetings were settled: it remains to relate how they spread further.

There were now above sixty ministers of the word raised among

them, and these went out in the service of the gospel, to turn people where they could have an opportunity, from darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan to God. Of these, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, went to London; John Camm and John Audland, to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorne and George Whitehead, to Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales, and others other ways. G. Fox well knowing this to be a weighty work, wrote a large epistle to these ministers, wherein he admonished them to prudence, advising them, to know the seed of God, which bruise the head of the serpent; also to know the power of God, and the cross of Christ: to receive wisdom from God by the light; and not to be hasty, or to run in their own wills, but to continue in patience.

I will first mention somewhat of the occurrences at London, whither Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, with Anthony Pearson, who had been a justice of peace, came in the forepart of the summer. Howgill and Pearson were the first of the people called Quakers, that had a meeting in this great city, where they preached in the house of one Robert Dring, in Watling-street; and Burrough was, as I have been informed, that day in an assembly of a separate society. Yet I have been told also, that Ruth, wife of William Crouch, merchant in London, had said, that somewhat before that time, there had been in the said house meetings of some few persons, of whom she was one; and also Anna Downer, afterwards married to George Whitehead, that one Isabella Buttery, with another woman, having spread in London some books, and among these one of G. Fox's, called, 'The Way to the Kingdom,' had met with this small company, of which were but two or three men, one of which was Amos Stoddard, formerly a military officer, mentioned already; and that the said Isabella sometimes spoke a few words in this small meeting. But when F. Howgill and E. Burrough were come to London, things began to have another face; for they laid hold of all opportunities they could light on, to preach the gospel.

At London there is a custom in summer-time, when the evening approaches and tradesmen leave off working, that many lusty fellows meet in the fields, to try their skill and strength in wrestling, where generally a multitude of people stand gazing in a round. Now it so fell out, that E. Burrough passed by the place where they were wrestling, and standing still amongst the spectators, saw how a strong and dexterous fellow had already thrown three others, and was waiting for a fourth champion, if any durst venture to enter the lists. At length none being bold enough to try, E. Burrough stepped into the ring, (commonly made up of all sorts of people,) and having looked upon the wrestler with a serious countenance, the man was not a little surprised, instead of an airy antagonist, to meet with a grave and awful young man; and all

stood as it were amazed at this sight, eagerly expecting what would be the issue of this combat. But it was quite another fight E. Burrough aimed at. For having already fought against spiritual wickedness, that had once prevailed on him, and having overcome in measure, by the grace of God, he now endeavoured also to fight against it in others, and to turn them from the evil of their ways. With this intention, he began very seriously to speak to the standers by, and that with such a heart-piercing power, that he was heard by this mixed multitude, with no less attention than admiration; for this speech tended to turn them from darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan to God. To effect this, he laboured with convincing words, showing how God had not left himself without a witness, but had given to man a measure of his grace, and enlightened every one with the light of Christ. Thus he preached zealously; and though many might look upon this as a novelty, yet it was of such effect that some were convinced of the Truth; for he was a breaker of stony hearts, and, therefore, by a certain author, not unjustly, called a son of thunder: though he also omitted not in due season, to speak a word of consolation to those that were of a broken heart, and of a contrite spirit. But to thunder against sin and iniquity was his peculiar talent; insomuch, that once preaching very zealously in meeting, and perceiving there were some contrite souls, that wanted spiritually-refreshing food, he was heard to intimate, that though his present speaking was not milk for babes, yet he would remember such anon, and administer to them also; but now he must thresh the whore. And indeed he was one of those valiants, whose bow never turned back, nor sword empty from the slaughter of the mighty; for the Lord blessed his powerful ministry with very glorious success: nay, he was such an excellent instrument in the hand of God, that even some mighty and eminent men were touched to the heart by the power of the word of life, which he preached. And although coals of fire, as it were, came forth of his mouth, to the consuming of briars and thorns, and he passing through unbeaten paths, trampled upon wild thistles and luxuriant tares; yet his wholesome doctrine dropped as the oil of joy upon the spirits of the mourners in Sion. Hence it was that Francis Howgill not unjustly said of him when deceased: 'Shall days, or months, or years, wear out thy name, as though thou hadst had no being? Oh, nay: shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works which thou hast wrought, through the power of him that separated thee from the womb, live in generations to come? Oh, yes! The children that are yet unborn shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee in the generations who yet have no being.'

The said Howgill, also an eminent and eloquent man, being now at London, went to court, to utter what was in his mind to

Oliver Cromwell. After having spoke to him, he thought it convenient to express himself further in writing ; as he did by the following letter :

‘ Friend,

‘ I was moved of the Lord to come to thee to declare the word of the Lord, as I was moved of the Lord, and deal plainly with thee, as I was commanded, and not to petition thee for any thing ; but to declare what the Lord had revealed to me, concerning thee ; and when I had delivered what I was commanded, thou questionedst it, whether it was the word of the Lord or not, and soughtest by thy reason to put it off ; and we have waited some days since, but cannot speak to thee, therefore I was moved to write to thee, and clear my conscience, and to leave thee. Therefore, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, I chose thee out of all the nations, when thou wast little in thy own eyes, and threw down the mountains and the powers of the earth before thee, which had established wickedness by a law ; and I cut them down, and broke the yokes and bonds of the oppressor, and made them stoop before thee, and I made them as a plain before thee, that thou passedst over them, and trod upon their necks ; but thus saith the Lord, now thy heart is not upright before me, but thou takest counsel, and not of me : and thou art establishing peace, and not by me ; and thou art setting up laws, and not by me ; and my name is not feared, nor I am not sought after ; but thy own wisdom thou establishest. What saith the Lord, have I thrown down all the oppressors, and broken their laws, and thou art now going about to establish them again, and art going to build again, that which I have destroyed ? Wherefore thus saith the Lord, Wilt thou limit me, and set bounds to me, when, and where, and how, and by whom, I shall declare myself, and publish my name ? Then will I break thy cord, and remove thy stake, and exalt myself in thy overthrow. Therefore this is the word of the Lord to thee, whether thou wilt hear or forbear, If thou take not away all those laws which are made concerning religion, whereby the people which are dear in mine eyes, are oppressed, thou shalt not be established ; but as thou hast trodden down my enemies by my power, so shalt thou be trodden down by my power, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord ; for my gospel shall not be established by thy sword, nor by thy law ; but by my might, and by my power, and by my Spirit. Unto thee, this is the word of the Lord : Stint not the eternal Spirit, by which I will publish my name, when, and where, and how I will ; for if thou dost, thou shalt be as dust before the wind : the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, and he will perform his promise. For this is that I look for at thy hands, saith the Lord, that thou shouldst undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free.

Are not many shut up in prison, and some stocked, some stoned, some shamefully entreated? And some are judged blasphemers by those who know not the Lord, and by those laws which have been made by the will of man, and stand not in the will of God; and some suffer now because they cannot hold up the types, and so deny Christ come in the flesh; and some have been shut up in prison, because they could not swear, and because they abide in the doctrine of Christ; and some for declaring against sin openly in markets, have suffered as evil-doers; and now if thou let them suffer in this nature by those laws, and count it just, I will visit for those things, saith the Lord, I will break the yoke from off their necks, and I will bring deliverance another way, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.

‘Moved of the Lord to declare and write this, by a servant of the Truth for Jesus’s sake, and a lover of thy soul, called,

‘Francis Howgill.’

‘The last of the First Month, about the ninth }
hour, waiting in James’s Park at London.’ }

How this was received I am not acquainted; but this I have understood, that some of Cromwell’s servants, and among these one Theophilus Green, and Mary, afterwards wife of John Stout, were so reached by F. Howgill’s discourse, that after some time they entered into the society of the Quakers, so called.

Now in the said letter or speech, we find notice taken of laws made concerning religion: these I do not look upon as made by the induction of Cromwell; but such as were made in former times, which he could have altered if he would have done it: as afterwards many penal laws were abrogated, under the reign of king William and queen Mary, as will be said in its proper place. For I do not find that in Cromwell’s time any laws were made to constrain people to frequent the worship of the public or national church. But notwithstanding, the Quakers, so called, were imprisoned for refusing to swear, or for not paying tithes to maintain the priests; and they were whipped like vagabonds, for preaching in markets, or in other public places; or they were fined for not taking off their hats before magistrates; for this was called contempt of the magistracy; and when for conscience-sake they refused to pay such a fine, either the spoiling of goods, or imprisonment became their share: and thus always a cloak or cover was found to persecute them, and malice never wanted pretences to vex them. And it also often happened that E. Burrough and F. Howgill were opposed by the chiefest of several sects, whereby disputes were raised, which many times gave occasion for some of the hearers to embrace the doctrine maintained by the said Burrough and Howgill; which so enraged their enemies,

that no slanders were spared, and they sometimes branded them as witches.

In the meanwhile the people called Quakers so increased in London, that they began to have settled meetings; the first of which was in Aldersgate-street, at the house of one Sarah Sawyer. The first among women of this society that preached at London publicly, was the already mentioned Anna Downer, afterwards married to one Greenwell, and being become a widow, in process of time entered into matrimony with George Whitehead, as hath been hinted already.

The number of the said people increasing at London from time to time, several meetings were now erected there, one of which was in the house of one Bates, in Tower-street, and another at Gerard Robert's, in Thomas Apostle; until the church became so great, that a house known by the name of the Bull and Mouth, in Martin's-le-Grand, near Aldersgate, was hired for a meeting-house; and it being a building that had belonged to some great man, there was a large hall in it that would hold many people, and so was very convenient for a meeting place.

Abundance of books were now spread against the Quakers, as seducers and false prophets; and these written by the priests and teachers of several sects: for they perceiving that many of their hearers forsook them, left no stone unturned to stop it. But the event did not answer their hope, since Burrough and Howgill did not suffer those writings to go unanswered, but clearly showed the malice and absurdities of those writers.

Leaving them busy with this work, we will take a turn toward Bristol, to behold the performances of John Audland and Thomas Airey; who came thither in the month called July in this year, and going into the meetings of the Independents and Baptists, they found opportunity to preach Truth there, and also had occasion to speak to others, so that many received their testimony.

From thence they went to Plymouth in Devonshire, and so to London, where they met with John Camm; but after some stay there, John Audland returned to Bristol with John Camm, and found there a door opened for their ministry. Among those that did receive their testimony, were Josiah Cole, George Bishop, Charles Marshal, and Barbara Blaugdone, concerning which persons more is to be said hereafter. It was not long ere F. Howgill and E. Burrough, having gathered a church at London, came also to Bristol, where persecution now began to appear with open face: for the magistrates commanded them to depart the city and the liberties thereof; to which they answered, that they came not in the will of man, and that when He who moved them to come thither, did move them also to depart, they should obey:

that if they were guilty of the transgression of any law, they were not unwilling to suffer by it: that they were free-born Englishmen, being free from the transgression of any law: and that if by violence they were put out of the city, they were ready to suffer, and would not resist; and so they departed out of the presence of the rulers. But now the priests, especially one Ralph Farmer, began to incite and enrage the people, and to set the city, as it were, on fire.

Hence it was that J. Camm and J. Audland, intending to have a meeting at Brislington, about two miles from Bristol, and passing over a bridge, were assaulted by the rabble of the city and several apprentices of Farmer's parish, who having got notice of their coming were gathered there, and violently abused them with beating, kicking, and a continual cry, 'Knock them down, kill them, or hang them presently.' Thus they were driven back, and forced into the city again, narrowly escaping with their lives. But the tumult did not yet cease; for some of the multitude were heard to say, that they, viz. Camm and Audland, should find more protection from the magistrates, than those of strangers. But the officers of the garrison, thinking it unwarrantable to permit such a tumult, since it was not without reason to be feared, that the royalists, or abettors of king Charles, might take hold of such an opportunity and raise an insurrection, caused three of the ringleaders to be seized; but this made such a stir, that the next day more than five hundred people, as it was thought, were gathered together in a seditious manner, so that their companions were set at liberty. This made the tumultuous mob more bold and saucy, the rather because they saw that the magistrates, hearing that J. Camm and J. Audland not only had kept a meeting at Brislington, but also had visited some in their houses at Bristol, had bid them to depart the town.

Now the riotous multitude did not stick to rush violently into the houses of the Quakers, so called, at Bristol, under a pretence of preventing treasonable plottings. And when some in zeal told the priests, these were the fruits of their doctrine, they incited the people the more, and induced the magistrates to imprison some of those called Quakers. This instigated the rabble to that degree, that now they thought they had full liberty to use all kind of insolence against the said people; beating, smiting, pushing, and often treading upon them, till blood was shed: for they were become a prey to every malapert fellow, as a people that were without the protection of the law. This often caused a tumult in the town; and some said (not without good reason) that the apprentices durst not have left their work, had not their masters given them leave. And a certain person informed the mayor and aldermen, upon his oath, that he had heard an apprentice say, that they had leave from their

masters, and were encouraged ; for alderman George Hellier had said, he would die rather than any of the apprentices should go to prison. Now an order of sessions came forth, that the constables do once in every fortnight, make diligent search within their several wards, for all strangers and suspicious persons ; and that all people be forewarned not to be present at any tumult, or other unlawful assembly, or gather into companies or multitudes in the streets, on pain of being punished according to law. But this order was to little purpose, for the tumultuous companies and riots continued ; and once when a proclamation was read in the name of the Lord Protector, requiring every one to depart, some of the rioters were heard to say, ‘ What do you tell us of a protector ? tell us of king Charles.’ In the meanwhile the Quakers, so called, were kept in prison, and it plainly appeared that the order against unlawful assemblies was levelled against their meetings : and though the magistrates pretended that they must answer for it to the protector, if they did let the Quakers alone without disturbing their meetings, which at that time, for the most part, were silent, and nothing was spoken, but when now and then one of their ministers from abroad visited them ; yet this was not at all agreeable with the protector’s speech he made on the 12th of the month called September, to the parliament, in the painted chamber, where he spoke these words :

‘ Is not liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental ? so long as there is liberty for the supreme magistrate, to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church government he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it to others ? Liberty of conscience is a natural right, and he that would have it, ought to give it, having liberty to settle what he likes for the public. Indeed that hath been the vanity of our contests : every sect saith, Give me liberty ; but give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to any body else. Where is our ingenuity ? Truly that is a thing that ought to be very reciprocal. The magistrate hath his supremacy, and he may settle religion according to his conscience. And I may say to you, I can say it : all the money in the nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have engaged, if they had not had hopes of liberty, better than they had from Episcopacy, or than would have been afforded them from a Scottish Presbytery, or an English either, if it had made such steps, or been as sharp and rigid as it threatened when it was first set up. This I say is a fundamental : it ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come.’

Cromwell spoke more in confirmation hereof ; and indeed he would have been a brave man, if really he had performed what here he asserted with binding arguments. But though now he seemed

to disapprove the behaviour of Presbytery (for then he was for Independency), yet after some time he courted the Presbyterians; and these fawning upon him from the pulpit, as their preserver and the restorer of the church, he suffered the Quakers to be persecuted under his government, (though he pretended not to know it,) when he might easily have stopped it. But by hearkening to the flatteries of the clergy, at length he lost his credit, even with those who with him had fought for the common liberty; and thus at last befel him after his death, what he seemed to have imprecated on himself in the foregoing speech, if he departed from allowing due liberty. For he further said, that many of the people had been necessitated to go into the vast howling wilderness in New England, for the enjoyment of their liberty; and that liberty was a fundamental of the government; adding, that it had cost much blood to have it so, and even the hazarding of all. And in the conclusion he said, that he could sooner be willing to be rolled into his grave, and buried with infamy, than give his consent to the wilful throwing away of that government, so testified unto in the fundamentals of it. Now, who knows not what infamy befel him afterwards, when in the reign of king Charles the second, it is said, his corpse was digged up, and buried near the gallows, as may be further mentioned in its due place?

But I return now to Bristol, where several were kept in prison still, and no liberty granted them; nay, they were even charged with what they utterly denied themselves to be guilty of. Among these, one John Worrying was accused of having called the priest, Samuel Grimes, a devil: but Worrying denied this, though he did not stick to say, he could prove somewhat like it by his own words. And it being asked him how, he answered, that the priest had said at the meeting, that in all things he did, he sinned; and if in all things, then, as well in his preaching as in other things; and he that sinneth is of the devil. If you will not believe me, believe the Scriptures. It may be easily conjectured that this answer did not please the priest's followers, and therefore Worrying and some others were kept in prison: and among these also Elizabeth Marshall, who in the steeple-house, after the priest John Knowles, had dismissed the people, with what is called the blessing, spoke to him, and said, 'This is the word of the Lord to thee. I warn thee to repent, and to mind the light of Christ in thy conscience.' And when the people, by order of the magistrates then present, violently assaulted her, giving her many blows with staves and cudgels, she cried out, 'The mighty day of the Lord is at hand, wherein he will strike terror on the wicked.' Some time before, she spoke also in the steeple-house to the priest Ralph Farmer, after he had ended his sermon and prayer, and said, 'This is the word of the Lord to thee. Wo, wo, wo from the Lord to

them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never sent them.'

A good while after this, the magistrates gave out the following warrant :

City of Bristol.

' To all the constables within this city, and to every of them.

' Forasmuch as information hath been given us, that John Camm and John Audland, two strangers, who were commanded to depart this city, have, in contempt of authority, come into this city again, to the disturbance of the public peace: these are, therefore to will and require you forthwith to apprehend them, and bring them before us to be examined, according to law. Given this 22d of January, 1654. Signed,

William Cann,

Richard Vickris, Dept. Mayor,

Joseph Jackson,

Henry Gibbs,

Gabriel Sherman,

John Lock.'

Camm and Audland had departed the town before this time, having never been commanded (as the warrant saith) to depart the city, either by the magistrates themselves, or by any other at their command; though F. Howgill and E. Burrough had been required to do so. So this warrant proving ineffectual, the magistrates caused another to be formed in these words:

City of Bristol.

' To the constables of the peace of the ward of ——— and to every of them.

' Forasmuch as information hath been given us upon oath, that certain persons of the Franciscan order in Rome, have of late come over into England, and under the notion of Quakers, drawn together several multitudes of people in London; and whereas certain strangers, going under the names of John Camm, John Audland, George Fox, James Nayler, Francis Howgill, and Edward Burrough, and others unknown, have lately resorted to this city, and in like manner, under the notion of Quakers, drawn multitudes of people after them, and occasioned very great disturbances amongst us; and forasmuch as by the said information it appeareth to us to be very probable, and much to be suspected, that the said persons so lately come hither, are some of those that came from Rome, as aforesaid; these are therefore, in the name of his highness, the lord protector, to will and require you to make diligent search through your ward for the aforesaid strangers, or any of them, and all other suspected persons, and to apprehend and

bring them before us, or some of us, to be examined and dealt with according to law: hereof fail you not. Given the 25th of Jan.

1654. Signed,

John Gunning, Mayor,	William Cann,
Gabriel Sherman,	Joseph Jackson,
Henry Gibbs,	John Lock,
George Hellier,	Richard Vickris.'
Gabriel Sherman,	

Hereunto these magistrates affixed their seals; and that alderman Sherman might be sure his name was down, he wrote it twice. How frivolous this pretence of persons of the Franciscan order was, even a child might perceive; for the Quakers were by this time so multiplied in the North of England, that they could no more be looked upon as unknown people. And as for G. Fox and James Nayler, they had not yet been at Bristol, and therefore it seemed absurd to seek for them there. But it was thought expedient to brand the Quakers with odious names, that so under the cloak thereof, they might be persecuted as disturbers of the public peace: as appeared when one Thomas Robertson, and Josiah Cole being at Nicholas' steeple-house, and standing both still without speaking a word, until the priest Hazzard had ended, and dismissed the people, were very rudely treated; for Thomas then lifting up his voice, was presently, even when the word was yet in his mouth, struck on the head by many, as was also his companion, though he did not attempt to speak. But Thomas, after being a little recovered of a heavy blow, began to speak again, and said to the people, 'Tremble before the Lord, and the word of his holiness.' But this so kindled their anger, that they were both hurried out of the steeple-house, and with great rage driven to the mayor's, who commanded them both to Newgate prison.

Not long after, one Jeremy Hignel, being in his shop attending his calling, was sent for by the mayor and aldermen, to come before them; which he presently doing, the mayor asked him whether he knew where he was; he answered he did. Then the mayor asked where; he replied, 'In the presence of the Lord.' 'Are you not,' said the mayor, 'in the presence of the Lord's justices?' his answer was, 'If you be the Lord's justices, I am.' Whereupon one of the aldermen said, without any more words passing at that time, 'We see what he is; take him away to Newgate.' For since he did not take off his hat, it was concluded he was a Quaker, and this was counted cause enough to send him to prison; and so he was immediately brought thither, where the keeper received him without a mittimus, and kept him close prisoner nineteen days, permitting none to come to him but his wife.

No better was the treatment of Daniel Wastfield, who being

sent for by the mayor, appeared before him, and alderman Vickris; then the mayor said to him, 'Wastfield, come hither;' and he thereupon drawing near, the mayor asked him three several times, 'What art thou?' Though he knew him well enough, having called him by his name, as above said. Wastfield answered, 'I am a man.' 'But what's thy name?' said the mayor. 'My name is Daniel Wastfield,' answered he. Then said the mayor to one of his officers, 'Take him and carry him to Newgate;' further adding, that he came thither to condemn justice: to which Wastfield replied, 'No, I came hither in obedience to thy order;' for the mayor had sent for him, as hath been said. Thus he was carried away without a mittimus, the mayor saying his word was a mittimus; and he was kept a close prisoner thirty-three days, and none suffered to come to him but his servants, notwithstanding he was a widower, and must now leave his house and trade to their management; and a child of his died in the meanwhile, and was buried, and he kept from seeing it.

The magistrates having thus begun persecution, became from time to time more vigorous in it, insomuch, that several others were imprisoned, and among these Christopher Birkhead, who standing still in Nicholas' steeple-house with his hat on, and being asked by the priest, Ralph Farmer, what he stood there for; answered, 'I stand in obedience to the righteous law of God in my conscience; I have neither offended the law of God, nor of the nation. A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land.' More he would have spoken, but was stopped with beating and thrusting, and so carried to prison.

Now the magistrates were not a little incited to persecution by the said Farmer; and there being several that were very bold, they did not stick to write sharp letters to him; and his indecent carriage was also told him to his face, by word of mouth, in the steeple-house after sermon; and those who did so were sent to prison. At length these prisoners were brought to trial; and since it could not be proved that they had transgressed any law, some of the magistrates seemed inclined to set them at liberty, if they would have declared that they were sorry for what they had done. Among them was also one William Foord, and nothing material being found against him, but that he was one of those called Quakers, he was accused of having kept a stranger at work; which however he esteemed to be lawful, since his trade of wool-combing did not belong to the company of milliners, who complained of him. Yet he was asked whether he was sorry for what he had done; which denying, as well as those who had reproved the priests, he that was not guilty, was sent to prison again, as well as those that were pretended to be so. Among these last was also Sarah Goldsmith, who from a well-meant zeal to testify against pride, having a coat of sackcloth, and her hair dishevelled, with

earth or dust strewed on her head, had gone through the city without receiving any considerable harm from the people, because some looked upon her to be crack-brained. There was also Temperance Hignel, who having said in the steeple-house to the priest, after he had ended his sermon, 'Wo from the Lord God to thee, Jacob Brint, was presently struck down, and so violently abused, that blood ran down her face, and she being committed to prison, fell sick; and when they saw her life was in danger, she was carried out in a basket, and died three days after. The reason she gave, when in prison, why she spoke in that manner to the priest was, that he had scarce any hearers, but what were swearers, drunkards, strikers, fighters, and railers, &c. and that, therefore, his ministry was in vain, since he preached for gain; whereas he himself ought to have brought forth good fruits.

How long the others were kept in prison, I do not know certainly; however, it was a pretty long time; for George Bishop, and Dennis Hollister, who formerly had been a member of the parliament, and three others, put all these transactions in writing at large, and sent it to the magistrates, in hopes that thereby they might see the evil of persecution; but this proving in vain, they gave it out in print five months after, that so every one might know how the Bristollers treated their inhabitants, which was to that degree, that an author said, 'Was such a tyrannical iniquity and cruelty ever heard of in this nation? Or would the ministers under king Charles have ventured to do so? Was not Strafford but a mean transgressor in comparison of these?' And though archbishop Laud was beheaded, yet it could not be proved, that the Episcopalians had persecuted so fiercely, as these pretended assertors of liberty of conscience had done, who being got into possession of the power, did oppress more than those they had driven out. This made the persecuted, some of whom formerly had also fought for the common liberty, the more in earnest against those that were now in authority.

But I will turn away from Bristol, towards Norwich, whither Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead were gone. Here it happened, that R. Hubberthorn, having spoken something to a priest in a steeple-house yard, and not having taken off his hat before the magistrates, was imprisoned in the castle, where he was kept great part of the following year, and in the meanwhile wrote several epistles of exhortation to his friends; and the preaching of him and his companion G. Whitehead had such effect, that a meeting of their friends was settled in that city.

But before I go on, it will be convenient to give some account of the quality of these two persons: R. Hubberthorn was born in the north of Lancashire, and descended from very honest parents: his father was a yeoman of good reputation among men, and Richard was his only son, and from a youth inclined to piety.

Being come to man's estate, he became an officer in the parliament's army, and from a zeal for godliness, preached sometimes to his soldiers. But entering afterwards into the society of the Quakers so called, he left his military employment, and testified publicly against it; for he was now become a soldier under another banner, viz. that of Christ Jesus, the Prince of Peace; not fighting as formerly, with the outward sword, but with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. In his ministry he had an excellent gift, and though not so loud in voice as some others, yet he was a man of quick understanding, and very edifying in his preaching.

G. Whitehead (who whilst I write this is yet alive) was trained up to learning, and though but a youth, instructed others in literature, and continued in that calling sometime after he came to be convinced of that truth which was preached by the professors of the light; and he strove to bring up children in the fear of the Lord. But before this change, he was a diligent hearer of the world's teachers, and usually frequented the steeple-house at Orton, in Westmoreland: yet, the singing of David's psalms became so burdensome to him, that sometimes he could not join therewith; for he saw that David's conditions were not generally suitable to the states of a mixed multitude; and he found himself to be short of what they sung. This consideration brought him into such a strait, that often he durst not sing those psalms the priests gave their hearers to sing, lest he should have told lies unto God. Now also he began to see that the priests' lives and practices did not agree with their doctrine; for they themselves spoke against pride and covetousness, and yet lived in them. This likewise made him go to hear some that were separated from the national church, and got into a more specious form of godliness; but he soon saw, that though there was a difference in the ceremonial part, and that these had a more true form of words than the priests, yet they were such as ran before they were sent by God, speaking peace to that nature in him, wherein he felt no true peace. And when he was about seventeen years of age, which was in the year 1652, he first heard the doctrine of Truth preached by those that were reproachfully called Quakers; and their testimony wrought so powerfully on his mind, that he received it, and so entered into their communion. Now he found, that to grow up in the true wisdom, and to become wise in the living knowledge of God, he must become a fool to that wisdom, wherein he had been feeding upon the tree of knowledge, having in that state no right to the tree of life; and he continuing in faithfulness, it pleased the Lord to ordain him a minister of the gospel: in which service he acquitted himself well, to the convincing of others, and the edification of the church.

But now leaving him, let us go and see what happened at

Oxford in the year 1654. At the latter end of the month called June, there came two women, named Elizabeth Heavens, and Elizabeth Fletcher. These spoke in the streets to the people, and in the college they exhorted the scholars, who wickedly requiting their zeal, violently pushed Elizabeth Fletcher against a grave-stone, and then threw her into the grave; and their malice grew to that pitch, that they tied these two women together, and drove them under the pump; and after their being exceedingly wetted with pumping water upon them, they threw them into a miry ditch, through which they dragged Elizabeth Fletcher, who was a young woman, and so cruelly abused her, that she was in a painful condition till her death, which fell out not long after. Some short time after this rude encounter, she and her companion, on a first-day of the week, went into the steeple-house at Oxford, and when the priest had ended, they began to admonish the people to godliness: but two justices there present, commanded them to be taken into custody, and carried to the prison called Bocardo, where none but felons were used to be lodged. The justices desiring the magistrates to meet on this account, the mayor would not meddle with it, but said, 'Let those who have committed them deal with them according to law, if they have transgressed any;' adding, that he had nothing to say against them; but that he would provide them with victuals, clothes, or money, if they wanted any. Yet he came into the assembly where these women were examined, and whither the vice-chancellor of the university was also required to come, who charged them, that they blasphemed the name of God, and did abuse the Spirit of God, and dishonoured the grace of Christ: and asking them whether they did read the Scriptures, they answered yea they did. Then he asked whether they were not obedient to the power of the magistrate; to which their answer was, they were obedient to the power of God, and to the power that was of God they were subject for conscience-sake. 'Well,' said the vice-chancellor, 'you profane the word of God, and I fear you know not God, though you so much speak of him.' Then the women being made to withdraw, it was concluded that there was matter enough for their commitment and punishment, and agreed that a paper should be drawn up for their being whipped out of the city. When this was done, it was presented to the mayor to set his hand to it; but he refused, and said he was not willing to do so. Then one of the justices said, that it was the privilege of the city, that if any vagrant was taken within the franchises and liberties thereof, a paper must be drawn up, that such a one, mayor, had committed such and such persons; and that then it was to be sealed with the office seal. But the mayor refused this as well as the other: which made some say, that if he would not, it should be done by them. And then it was agreed upon, that they should be whipped soundly; which was performed the

next morning, though with much unwillingness in the executioner : and the mayor had no hand in it.

But leaving these, I will turn to another, one Barbara Blaugdone, of whom mention hath already been made, that she was one of those that received the truth, by the ministry of John Audland and John Camm. She was from her youth inclined to godliness, and her employment was to instruct children. But being entered into the society of those called Quakers, she became plain, both in speech and habit, and thereupon the children she taught were taken from her ; and, going sometimes into the steeple-houses, to bear testimony against their formalities, she was put in prison, and kept there a quarter of a year at a time. Afterwards she led a very severe life, and abstained from all flesh, wine, and beer, drinking only water for the space of a whole year. In the meanwhile she grew up and prospered in true piety. Once it happened, that coming from a meeting that was at George Bishop's house at Bristol, a rude fellow ran a knife, or some sharp instrument, through all her clothes, into the side of her belly, which if it had gone but a little further, might have killed her. Then she went to Marlborough, where, exhorting people, in the steeple-house and other places, to fear God, she was put into prison for the space of six weeks, and there fasted several days and nights. When she was released, she went to Isaac Burges, the man that committed her, and discoursing with him, he was really convinced of the truth, but could not resolve to take up the cross ; yet he was afterwards very loving to her friends, and stood by them upon all occasions, never more persecuting any of them : and coming some time after to Bristol, he went to her house and confessed, that he knew her doctrine was truth, but that he would not take up the cross to walk in that way. A while after she went into Devonshire, to Molton, Barnstable, and Biddeford, in all which places a prison was her lot. She went also to him, that after was earl of Bath, where, being acquainted, she had formerly vainly spent much time, but now she was moved to call this family to leave off their vanity. And she asked to speak with the lady ; but one of the servants that knew her, bid her go to the back-door, and their lady would come forth that way, to go into the garden. Barbara being come thither, a great mastiff dog was set loose upon her ; and he running fiercely, as if to devour her, turned suddenly, and went away crying and halting, whereby she clearly saw the hand of the Lord in it, to preserve her from this danger. The lady then came and stood still, hearing what Barbara spoke, and gave her thanks for her exhortation, yet did not invite her to come in, though she often had been lodged there, and had eaten and drank at her table.

Then Barbara went to Great Torrington, and, going into the steeple-house, spoke somewhat to the people by way of exhorta-

tion ; but not having sufficient opportunity to clear herself, went to her lodging, and sat to writing. After noon the constables came to her, and took away what she had written, and commanded her to go along with them to their worship. To which she answered, that they would not suffer her to speak there, and that she knew no law that could compel her to go thither twice in a day ; and that they all knew she was there in the morning. Being thus unwilling to go, the next day the mayor sent for her ; when come, she found him moderate, and loath to send her to prison : but the priest being present, was very eager, and said she ought to be whipped for a vagabond. She then bid him prove where ever she asked any one for a bit of bread ; but he said she had broken the law by speaking in their church ; and he so pressed the mayor, that at length he made him write a mittimus, and send her to Exeter prison, which was twenty miles distant ; there she remained for some time, until the assizes came, but was not brought forth to a trial. And after the sessions were over, she was put to lodge one night among a great company of gipsies, that were then in prison ; and the next day the sheriff came with a beadle, who brought her into a room, where he whipped her till the blood ran down her back, and she never startled at a blow ; but sang aloud, and was made to rejoice that she was counted worthy to suffer for the name of the Lord ; which made the beadle say, ‘ Do ye sing ? I will make you cry by and by ; ’ and with that he laid on so hard, that one Ann Speed seeing this, began to weep ; but Barbara was strengthened by an uncommon and more than human power, so that she afterwards declared, if she had been whipped to death in the state she then was, she should not have been terrified or dismayed. And the sheriff seeing that all the wrath of man could not move her, bid the fellow leave off striking ; and then Ann Speed was suffered to dress her stripes. The next day she was turned out with all the gipsies, and the beadle followed her two miles out of the town : but as soon as he left her, she returned back, and went into the prison to see her friends that were prisoners there, and having visited them, she went home to Bristol.

But by the way coming to Biddeford, she was taken up, and put into the town-hall, and searched to see whether she had either knife or scissars about her. Next day she was brought before the mayor, who discoursing much with her, had a sense of what she spoke to him ; and at last he set open two doors, one right against the other, and said he would give her her choice, which she would go out at ; whether she would go forth to prison again, or go home. And she told him, that she would choose liberty rather than bonds. So she went homeward, and then he took his horse and followed ; and overtaking her, would have had her ride behind him ; but when any whom he knew met them, he

would slacken his pace ; and as soon as they were passed, he came up again to her ; which she perceiving, refused to ride behind him ; yet he rode three or four miles with her, and discoursed all the way : and when they parted, she kneeled down and prayed for him, all which time he was very serious, and afterwards grew very solid and sober. She writ once to him ; but not long after, he died.

Being come home, she was moved to go to Basingstoke, to endeavour to obtain liberty for two of her friends, viz. Thomas Robinson and Ambrose Rigg, who were taken up at the first meeting that their friends had had there. But when she came thither the entrance of the prison was denied her. And she having a letter from John Camm to them, put it in at the chink of the door, and then she went to the mayor to desire their liberty : he told her, that if he saw the letter which she brought them, they should have their liberty. She then said he should see it ; and so went and fetched it ; which he having read, told her, that she should have her brethren out ; but that he could not let them out presently. Yet it was not long before her friends had their liberty.

Now leaving Barbara for some time, we return to Miles Halhead. In the first month of this present year, he was moved to go to Ireland, and declare the word of the Lord there ; and speaking of this to James Lancaster and Miles Bateman, they quickly resolved to keep him company, and so they went for Ireland ; where they proclaimed the truth in cities, towns, villages, and before magistrates, as occasion offered ; and their testimony was received by many. After they had discharged themselves, they returned to England, where Miles soon found himself moved to go to Scotland. In his way thither, he met his friend, James Lancaster, who was very free to go with him ; and so they went into Scotland ; but were not the first of those called Quakers in that country ; for Christopher Fell, George Wilson, and John Grave, had been there before ; so that a little church of those of their communion, was already planted in that kingdom, before Halhead went thither : and one Alexander Hamilton had, a year before ever any Quakers appeared in Scotland, erected a meeting at Drumboy, and also at Heads, and he received their testimony when they came there, as also his wife Joan, James Gray, James Miller, and others. I find also that Scotland was early visited by Catherine Evans, and Sarah Cheevers, two eminent women, of whom something extraordinary is to be related in its due time.

But I return to James Lancaster, and Miles Halhead, who being come to Dumfries, went on a first-day of the week into the steeple-house in that town, where seeing many people gathered together, howling and crying, and making great lamentation, as

if they had been touched with a sense of their sins, Miles was silent until their worship was done; but then, being grieved with their deceit and hypocrisy, spoke as he was moved; but met with great opposition, many of the people being in such a rage, that they drove him and his companion out of the town, near to the side of a great river; and it was intended that the women of the town should stone them; but they prevented this by wading through the river.

Being thus safely passed the water, they went to Edinburgh and Leith, where they staid about ten days. During that time, Miles spoke to the people when occasion offered; as also to the garrisons, and to the captains and officers of the army, who were much affected, and confessed that the Lord had been very good unto them; for Miles's message was, that the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, because they had not performed their promises, which they made to him in the day of their distress, when their enemies encompassed them on every side; for then the Lord delivered them, and gave them victory; but they had returned him evil for good, and committed violence against those he sent to declare his word amongst them. This being told them at large by Miles, he went to Glasgow and Stirling, where he also spoke as he was moved; and so returned to England.

But before I leave Scotland, I may say, that as the first meetings were kept at Drumbowry and Heads, so it was not long ere meetings were settled also at Garshore, at Edinburgh, and also at Aberdeen. The first Scotch preachers of those called Quakers, I find to have been William Osborne, Richard Ree, and Alexander Hamilton, already mentioned. Of the said Hamilton, I may mention a singular instance: after he and his wife, with her and his sister, had separated themselves from the society of the Independents, it happened that Thomas Charters, a teacher of that sect, at Kilbride, not far from Drumbowry, seeing that he could not draw Hamilton, and those of his family back again, threatened them with excommunication, and appointed a day for it, giving notice thereof to Hamilton some days beforehand. Hamilton warned him to forbear, or else the anger of God would seize on him. But he answered, 'It is but Alexander Hamilton that saith so.' To which Hamilton returned in the presence of many witnesses, that it was not only he, but what he had said was of the Lord. But Charters persisting in what he intended, and walking two days before the appointed time in the steeple-house yard, where his horse was feeding, stepped to him to stroke him; but the horse growing wanton, gave Chartres such a violent kick on his side, that he died about the same hour which was appointed by him for the excommunication. Whether this case happened in the year I now describe, I am not certain; but however, it was either in, or near it.

This year Miles Halhead came to Berwick in Northumberland, and went to the mayor of that town, and spoke to him in his shop thus: 'Friend, hear what the servant of the Lord hath to say unto thee. Give over persecuting the Lord's servants, whom he doth send in love to this town of Berwick, to show you the way that leads to life eternal. I charge thee, O man, touch not the Lord's anointed, nor do his prophets any harm, lest thou procure the anger of the living eternal God against thee.' This bold language so offended the mayor, that he sent Miles to prison, where he was about ten weeks, and then was brought to the sessions, where a bill drawn up against him, was read in open court: but he denied the contents thereof, yet said, 'But what I said to the mayor of this town, I will not deny.' And then he related the aforesaid words he spoke to the mayor. Whereupon the recorder said, 'Sirs, as I understand by his own words, if he cannot prove the mayor of the town a persecutor, in my judgment he hath wronged him.' To this Miles answered, 'If the mayor of this town of Berwick, dare say in the presence of the Lord, whose presence is here, that he is no persecutor, but the persecuting nature is slain in him, I will be willing to abide the judgment of the court.' Then the clerk of the court said, 'Mr. Mayor, if you will say that you are no persecutor, but the persecuting nature is slain in you, he is willing to abide the judgment of the court.' To this the mayor answered, 'I know not what to do; I would I had never seen him; I pray you, let him go, and let us be no more troubled with him.' Then Miles said that he would prove this mayor of Berwick the greatest persecutor in town or country. 'I was once [thus he went on] committed to the prison in this town before, by some of the justices that are now in this court; but thou, O man, hast exceeded them all; thou hast committed me, and kept me in close prison for about ten weeks, for speaking to thy own person, in thy own shop. Now I make my appeal to the recorder of this town of Berwick, as I am a freeborn Englishman, whether my imprisonment be legal, according to the law of this nation, or not?' Then the recorder of the town stood up and said, 'It is not very legal for any minister of the law to imprison any man in his own cause.' Then the court cried, 'Take him away.' The chief priest of the town then stood, and desired the court that he might ask Miles one question; to this Miles said, 'The Lord knows thy heart, O man, and at this present has revealed thy thoughts to his servant; and therefore now I know thy heart also, thou high priest, and the question thou wouldst ask me: and if thou wilt promise me before the court, that if I tell thee the question thou wouldst ask me, thou wilt deal plainly with me, I will not only tell thee thy query, but I will answer it.' Then the priest said he would. Then Miles proceeded: 'Thy question is this: thou wouldst know whether I own that Christ

that died at Jerusalem, or not?' To this the priest wondering said, 'Truly that is the question.' Then Miles said, 'According to my promise, I will answer it before this court: in the presence of the Lord God of heaven, I own no other Christ than him that died at Jerusalem, and made a good confession before Pontius Pilate, to be the light and way that leads fallen man out of sin and evil, up to God eternal, blessed for evermore.' More questions were not asked him, but the gaoler was commanded to take him away. Yet within a short time, the court gave order to release him. Then going to Newcastle, he returned to his wife and children at Mountjoy, where we will leave him for some time, and in the meanwhile return again to G. Fox, whom we left at Cynderhill-green, from whence he travelled up and down in Yorkshire, as far as Holderness, visiting his friends, and finding the churches in a flourishing state. To relate all his occurrences there, would be beyond my pale.

Passing then through the countries, he went to Lincolnshire, and to the meeting where he was, came the sheriff of Lincoln, who made great contention for a time; but at length the power of the Lord so reached him, that he was convinced of the truth, as were several others also that did oppose him.

Whilst G. Fox was in this country, the church of his friends increased, and many received the doctrine preached by him, and amongst these, was one sir Richard Wrey, with his brother, and the brother's wife, who both continued steadfast till they died; but sir Richard found this way so narrow, that he afterwards ran out; for persecution in time fell so fast on those called Quakers, that none could abide in their society, but such as were willing to hazard all.

G. Fox now went to Derbyshire, and the abovesaid sheriff of Lincoln travelling with him, they came into Nottinghamshire, and so into the Peak country, where having a meeting at Thomas Hammersly's, several ranters came and opposed him; and when he reproved them for swearing, they said, Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph swore. But though G. Fox did not deny this, yet he said, 'Christ (who said, before Abraham was, I am) saith, Swear not at all. And Christ ends the prophets, as also the old priesthood, and the dispensation of Moses; and he reigns over the house of Jacob, and of Joseph, and saith, Swear not at all. And God, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, saith, Let all the angels of God worship him, to wit, Christ Jesus, who saith, Swear not at all. And as for the plea that men make for swearing to end their strife, Christ, who says, Swear not at all, destroys the devil and his works, who is the author of strife; for that is one of his works. And God said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him. So the Son is to be heard, who forbids swearing: and the

apostle James, who did hear the Son of God, and followed him, and preached him, forbids also all oaths.' Thus G. Fox prevailed, and many were convinced that day. It is remarkable that Thomas Hammersly, being summoned upon a jury, was admitted to serve without an oath; and when he, being foreman, brought in the verdict, the judge did declare, that he had been a judge so many years, but never heard a more upright verdict than that the Quaker had then brought in.

G. Fox travelling on, came to Swanington, in Leicestershire, where there was a general meeting, to which many of his friends came from several parts, and among these, J. Audland, and F. Howgill, from Bristol; and E. Burrough from London. After this, G. Fox came to Twycross, and some ranters there sang and danced before him; but he reprov'd them so earnestly, that some of them were reached, and became modest and sober.

Then he went to Drayton, his birth-place, to visit his relations; where Nathaniel Stevens, the priest, having gotten another priest, sent for him. G. Fox having been three years abroad, knew nothing of their design, but yet at last he went to the steeple-house yard, where the two priests had gathered abundance of people; and they would have had him gone into the steeple-house: but he asked them, what he should do there; and it was answered him, 'Mr. Stevens could not bear the cold.' At which G. Fox said, 'He may bear it as well as I.' At last they went into a great hall, R. Farnsworth being with him, where they entered into a dispute with the priests, concerning their practice, how contrary it was to Christ and his apostles. The priests asked, where tithes were forbidden, or ended; whereupon G. Fox showed them, out of the epistle to the Hebrews, chap. vii. that not only tithes, but the priesthood, that took tithes, was ended; and that the law was ended and disannulled, by which the priesthood was made, and tithes were commanded to be paid. Moreover, he, knowing Stevens's condition, laid open his manner of preaching, showing, that he, like the rest of the priests, did apply the promises to the first birth, which must die; whereas the promises were to the seed, not to many seeds, but to the one seed, Christ, who was one in male and female: for all were to be born again, before they could enter into the kingdom of God. Then Stevens said, that he must not judge so. But G. Fox told him, he that was spiritual judged all things. Stevens confessed, that this was a full scripture: but 'Neighbours,' said he, 'this is the business; G. Fox is come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks to put out my star-light.' To this G. Fox returned, that he would not quench the least measure of God in any, much less put out his star-light, if it were true star-light, light from 'the morning star:' but that if he had any thing from Christ, or God, he ought to speak it freely, and not

take tithes from the people for preaching; seeing Christ commanded his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. But Stevens said, he would not yield to that.

This dispute being broke off for that time, was taken up again a week after by eight priests, in the presence of many people: and when they saw that G. Fox remained unshaken, they fawningly said, 'What might he have been if it had not been for the Quakers!' Afterwards the dispute was resumed in the steeple-house yard, where G. Fox showed, by abundance of Scriptures, that they who preached for wages were false prophets and hirelings; and that such who would not preach without wages or tithes, did not serve the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies. This he treated on so largely, that a professor said, 'George, what! wilt thou never have done?' To this his answer was, that he should have done shortly. And when he broke off one of the priests said, they would read the Scriptures he had quoted. 'With all my heart;' said he: then they began to read Jer. xxiii. and when they had read a verse or two, George said, 'Take notice, people.' But the priests cried, 'Hold thy tongue, George.' He then bid them read the whole chapter throughout; but they stopping, asked him a question: and he told them, that if the matter he charged them with, was first granted, then he would answer their question: for his charge had been, that they were false prophets, and false teachers, such as the true prophets, Christ, and his apostles, cried against. 'Nay,' said a professor to that: but he said, 'Yes; for you, leaving the matter, and going to another thing, seem to consent to the proof of the former charge.' Now their question was, seeing those false prophets were adulterated, whether he did judge priest Stevens an adulterer. To this he answered, that he was adulterated from God in his practice, like those false prophets. Then they broke up the meeting, and Stevens desired that G. Fox, with his father and mother, might go aside with him, that he might speak to him in private. George, though his relations yielded to it, was very loath to do so; yet, that it might not be said he was disobedient to his parents, he went: but many of the people being willing to hear, drew close to them. Then Stevens said; if he was out of the way, George should pray for him; and if George was out of the way, he would pray for him: moreover, that he would give to George a form of words to pray by. To this G. Fox replied, 'It seems thou dost not know, whether thou art in the right way or no; but I know that I am in the everlasting way, Christ Jesus, which thou art out of: and thou wouldst give me a form of words to pray by, and yet thou deniest the common prayer book to pray by, as well as I. If thou wouldst have me pray for thee by a form of words, is not this to deny the apostles' doctrine and practice of praying by the Spirit as it gave words and utterance?' Here, though some of the people fell a

laughing, yet others that were grave and sober, were convinced of the truth, and the priests were greatly shaken; insomuch, that George's father, though he was a hearer and follower of the priest, was so well satisfied, that, striking his cane upon the ground, he said, 'Truly I see, he that will but stand to the truth, it will carry him out.'

G. Fox did not stay long at Drayton, but went to Leicester, and from thence to Whetstone, where a meeting was to be kept; but before it began, there came about seventeen troopers, of colonel Hacker's regiment, who taking him up brought him to the said colonel, where there was also his major and captains. Here he entered into a long discourse with them, about the priests, and about meetings; for at this time there was a noise of a plot against Cromwell; and he spoke also much concerning the light of Christ, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. The colonel hearing him speak thus, asked whether it was the light of Christ, that made Judas betray his master, and afterwards led him to hang himself? G. Fox told him, 'No; that was the spirit of darkness which hated Christ, and his light.' Then the colonel said to George, he might go home, and keep at home, and not go abroad to meetings. But he told him, he was an innocent man, free from plots, and he denied all such works. Then the colonel's son, Needham, said, 'Father, this man hath reigned too long; it is time to have him cut off.' G. Fox asked him for what? 'What have I done, or whom have I wronged from a child; and who can accuse me of any evil?' Then the colonel asked him, if he would go home, and stay there. To which G. Fox answered, that if he should promise him so, it would imply, that he was guilty of something, to go home, and make his home a prison to himself; and if he went to meetings, they would say, he broke their order; but that he should go to meetings, as the Lord should order him; and that therefore he could not submit to their requirements: and having further added, that he and his friends were a peaceable people; the colonel said, 'Well then, I will send you to-morrow morning, by six o'clock, to my lord protector, by captain Drury, one of his life-guard.' The next morning, about the appointed time, he was delivered to captain Drury. Then G. Fox desired he would let him speak with the colonel, before he went; and so the captain brought him to the colonel's bed-side, who again bade him go home and keep no more meetings. But G. Fox told him he could not submit to that; but must have his liberty to serve God, and go to meetings. 'Then,' said the colonel, 'you must go before the protector.' Whereupon G. Fox kneeled on his bed-side, and prayed the Lord to forgive him; since according to his judgment he was as Pilate, though he would wash his hands; (for he was stirred up and set on by the priests) and therefore George bade him, when the day of his misery and trial

should come upon him, then to remember what he had said to him. Far was it now from Needham, who would have had G. Fox cut off, to think that one time this would befall his father in an ignominious manner at Tyburn. But what afterwards happened, when he was condemned as one of the judges of king Charles I. will be related in its due place.

G. Fox then having left Colonel Hacker, was carried prisoner by captain Drury to London; where the captain went to give the protector an account of him; and coming again, he told G. Fox, the protector did require, that he should promise, not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him, or the government, as it then was: and that he should write this in what words he saw good, and set his hand to it. G. Fox considering this, next morning wrote a paper to the protector, by the name of Oliver Cromwell, wherein he did in the presence of God declare, that he denied the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any outward weapon, against him, or any man: and that he was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from darkness to the light, and to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting, to the peaceable gospel; and from being evil-doers, which the magistrate's sword should be a terror to. Having written this, he set his name to it, and gave it to captain Drury, who delivered it to Oliver Cromwell; and after some time returning to the Mermaid, near Charing-cross, where G. Fox was lodged, he carried him to Whitehall, and brought him before the protector, who was not yet dressed, it being pretty early in the morning. G. Fox, coming in said, 'Peace be in this house,' and bid the protector keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from Him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order all things under his hands to God's glory. He had also much discourse with him concerning religion, wherein Cromwell carried himself very moderately, but said that G. Fox and his friends quarrelled with the ministers, meaning his teachers. G. Fox told him, he did not quarrel with them; but they quarrelled with him and his friends. 'But (thus continued he) if we own the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, we cannot uphold such teachers, prophets, and shepherds, as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and spirit.' Moreover, he showed, that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles preached freely, and declared against them that did not declare freely, but preached for filthy lucre, and divined for money, or preached for hire, being covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs, that could never have enough: and that they that had the same spirit, which Christ, the prophets, and the apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then. He also said, that all Christendom (so called)

had the Scriptures, but they wanted the power and spirit, which they had who gave them forth; and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the Scriptures, nor one with another. Whilst he was thus speaking, Cromwell several times said, it was very good, and it was truth. G. Fox had many more words with him; but seeing people coming in, he drew a little back: and as he was turning, Cromwell caught him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes said, 'Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to another:' adding, that he wished him no more ill than he did to his own soul. To this G. Fox returned, that if he did, he wronged his own soul; and bid him hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in His council, and obey it; and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. This so reached the protector, that he said it was true.

Then G. Fox went out; and captain Drury following, told him, that the lord protector said he was at liberty, and might go whither he would: yet he was brought into a great hall, where the protector's gentlemen were to dine; and he asked what they did bring him thither for? They told him that it was by the protector's order, that he might dine with them. But George bid them tell the protector he would not eat a bit of his bread, nor drink a sup of his drink. When Cromwell heard this, he said, 'Now I see there is a people risen, and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people, I can.' But it was told him again, that the Quakers had forsook their own, and were not like to look for such things from him.

It was very remarkable that captain Drury, who, while G. Fox was under his custody, would often scoff at him, because of the nickname of Quakers, which the Independents had first given to the professors of the light, afterwards came to him, and told him, that as he was lying on his bed to rest himself in the day-time, a sudden trembling seized on him, that his joints knocked together, and his body shook so, that he could not rise from his bed; he was so shaken, that he had not strength enough left to rise. But he felt the power of the Lord was upon him, and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and said, he would never speak against the Quakers more, viz. such as trembled at the word of God.

The particular occurrences that befel G. Fox, when he was at liberty in London, I pass by. He had great meetings there, and the throngs of people were such, that he could hardly get to and from the meetings, because of the crowd. In the meanwhile the number of his friends increased exceedingly, and some be-

longing to Cromwell's court were also convinced of the truth preached by him. He wrote about that time several papers, one of which was against pride, gaudy apparel, and the world's fashions.

I do not find that about this time there was at London any persecution from the magistrates, but in other places there was: and it was in this year that Anne, the wife of John Audland, coming into a steeple-house at Banbury, said, after the priest had ended, that those that were without the doctrine of Christ, though they said the Lord liveth, yet spoke falsely, according to Jer. v. 2. For this she was imprisoned as guilty of blasphemy, and two boys swore against her, that she had said, that the Lord did not live. Thus false accusations prevailed, and at this rate persecution was cloaked.

The year drew now to an end, and Cromwell concluded a peace with the United Netherlands; to get things the more clear at home, it seems he endeavoured to remove troubles abroad. And there being a rumour spread of a plot, as hath been hinted already, to be the more assured of the parliament, he caused a guard to be set upon the door of the house, to keep out those members that refused to sign a paper, whereby they promised to be faithful to the lord protector, and to make no alteration in the government, so as it was settled, on a single person, and a parliament. But several of the members would not sign this paper, saying, that it was a violation of the privileges of the parliament, and a depriving them of their liberty; therefore they were kept out; but others who subscribed the said paper were admitted. Yet this assembly not acting to the satisfaction of Cromwell, he dissolved them after a session of five months. The young king Charles, who lived in exile, had left France, and was come to Cologne on the Rhine, where he stayed for some time.

But I return to London, where we left G. Fox. He was in that city continually at work, discharging his duty every where, both with mouth and pen, suffering no time to be lost. There being commissioners appointed for the trying of ministers, he writ a paper to them, wherein he advised them, to see whether they were not such whom the prophets, Christ, and the apostles disproved; and who would admire their persons because of advantage, &c. He staid at London till the year 1655; and after having cleared himself, he went to Bedfordshire, and came to the house of John Crook, a justice of peace, where there was a great meeting, and many were convinced of the truth he declared, of which number John Crook also was one; but for this he was soon turned out from being a justice.

Whilst G. Fox was in Bedfordshire, there was also Alexander Parker, one of the early ministers among those called Quakers. But leaving them there, I now intend to speak of William Caton, who, as it hath been said already, was one of the family of judge

Fell. When he was but about fourteen years of age, his father procured leave for him to dwell in the said family; and his behaviour was so pleasing, that he was allowed the judge's son as a companion night and day; he ate as he did, and went with him a hunting, shooting, and fishing, partaking of the same pleasure with him in every thing, and living in ease and plenty; so that he had cause of joy, that Providence had cast his lot into such a noted family; for not only judge Fell, but also his wife Margaret, and their daughters, were well qualified. W. Caton conversing with such choice company, grew up in piety, and was very zealous in performing his private devotions, staying often in the bed-chamber, till the judge's son, his bed-fellow, was gone down, so that he might the more freely pour out his heart before God in prayer. Having attained to the age of fifteen years, he was very diligent, when he had been at a lecture, to write down the chief heads thereof; for such of the family as could make repetitions of sermons, and paraphrase thereupon, were held in esteem. But William Caton found that what he reaped thereby, could not satisfy the hunger and thirst of his immortal soul.

After he and the judge's son had for some time learned Latin together in the family, where there was a priest that instructed them, they were removed to a school at Hawkshead: but here he found company which he disliked more than that in the judge's family.

It was in the year 1652, about Midsummer, that G. Fox, (as hath been said in its proper place) first came to the house of judge Fell at Swarthmore. His nonconformity to the ordinary salutations, W. Caton not a little wondered at; but yet it did not hinder him from giving due attention to the doctrine G. Fox preached, which in substance was, to give heed to the light, which Christ Jesus had enlightened us withal, and which shining in our hearts, convinceth us of sin and evil. This so reached W. Caton, that in due time he began to be subject to this inward convincement, by which he came to be much restrained in his carriage, and could not allow himself so great liberty as he was wont to do; for though he was no ways extravagant, yet now he that a true Christian must be weaned from all vanity; and that the common diversions of youth displeased God. This he clearly perceived, for the witness of God had awakened and reproved him of that which was contrary to true gravity, and sobriety of mind. He had not yet left the school: but (though he was pretty much advanced in his learning) the making of Latin verses became a burden to him, because he could not give his thoughts that liberty for invention as others did; neither could he well any longer give to the master of the school the compliment of the hat, as he was used to do: this I had from his own mouth. One may easily guess that hereby he was brought into

a strait : but Margaret Fell, seeing that he longed to be freed from the school, caused him to stay at home, where he was employed by her in writing, and teaching her children. And when he was about seventeen years of age, he became more and more strengthened in the spiritual warfare, and his heart was often filled with joy, because of the mercy and loving-kindness of the Lord to him.

Thus advancing in godliness, he was frequently moved to go to the places of public worship, and also to markets, to warn people to repentance ; but then beating and buffeting was his share ; and because of his youth he was despised by many ; yet he fainted not : and esteeming it his duty now to labour in the ministry of the gospel, he desired to be discharged of his service. Judge Fell was very unwilling to part with him ; but Margaret his wife, though she could not well give him up before, yet believing that the Lord required his service, not only freely resigned him, but also prevailed with her husband to let him go : for he did not desire his liberty to serve other men, but to enter into the service of the Lord, and to proclaim the everlasting gospel.

About the end of the year 1654, being eighteen years of age, he took his leave of that family, which was not done without mutual shedding of tears at parting. He then went to visit his friends in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Warwickshire ; from thence to Norwich, and so to Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire ; where he found an opportunity to declare the truth of God in the steeple-house. After that he travelled to Cambridge, visiting his friends there ; and then returned to Norwich, where he visited his friends in prison, and had great meetings in that city. Then he went to London, where he was very kindly received by those of the household of faith ; and on a first-day of the week was at two steeple-houses, at one of which he had large liberty to speak, being indeed persuasive in speech ; and in the afternoon, at a meeting of dissenters from the public worship, he had liberty to publish truth without opposition or contradiction from any ; and many were added to the faith : for at that time there were twelve ministering brethren, most of them, come out of the north of England, among whom was John Stubbs, already mentioned, with whom he travelled into Kent : and coming to Dover, where they were altogether strangers, not knowing any body in the town, they took their lodging at an inn. J. Stubbs went on the first-day of the week to a meeting of the Baptists, and W. Caton to the steeple-house, where he had but little liberty ; but in the yard he had more opportunity to clear his conscience to the people. In the afternoon he went up to the castle, where the Independents performed their worship. Shortly after, he and

J. Stubbs went into the Baptists' meeting, unto which much people resorted, and many began to be affected with their testimony, and adhered to it. This made such a stir, that they were haled before the magistrates, who examined them, and ordered that none should entertain them on a certain penalty; whereupon they were turned out of their lodging. But one Luke Howard, a shoemaker, who had already heard W. Caton at London, and afterwards at Dover, in the steeple-house yard, though he little regarded him at London, but said to his companion, 'I know more than he can tell me, or more than either I or he is able to live up to;' yet now he became so affected with W. Caton's testimony, that he invited him and J. Stubbs to his house, where he entertained them; and not long after they had a meeting there; and he heard the testimony of his guests with no less satisfaction than Agrippa of old did the speech of the apostle Paul, when he said to him, 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian:' for Luke Howard was not yet come so far that he could resolve to conform himself with the Quakers, so called; but yet, such was his love to them, that when the mayor of the town sent four constables to his house, with an order to deliver them up, that so they might be carried out of the town, he refused to do so, relying on his right as a freeman of the corporation; and the doors being shut, kept the constables out of his house, and told them from the shop window, that the mayor had no lawful authority to have these men haled out of his house, and sent out of town, there being no hue and cry come after them. They staid yet some days in his house, and he became so strengthened by their ministry, that he joined with them in profession, and also gave up his house to be a meeting-place for their friends.

Then W. Caton and J. Stubbs departed the town, and went to Folkstone, and from thence to Hythe, in both which places they found opportunity to preach the truth. After some stay, they went to Romney, and so to Lydd. Here it was, that Samuel Fisher, both by their ministry, and by that of Ambrose Rigg, and Thomas Robinson, (who now were also gone forth in the service of the Gospel) was convinced, and brought over to their society. He was trained up to literature, and had studied diligently in the University; and though but young then, yet was of a pious conversation, and disliked many ceremonies and customs usual in the schools. When he had finished his course there, he was ordained a priest of the church; and a certain great man took him to be his chaplain; and afterwards he got a living at Lydd, worth about two hundred pounds a year. But after having been thus employed some time, he came to see that infant baptism was a human institution, and to preach for wages unlawful. To this

may be added, that Luke Howard, some time before he knew the Quakers, so called, not being satisfied concerning the singing of David's Psalms at the public worship, so troubled his master with whom he had been apprenticed, that he got Samuel Fisher, as a learned minister, to come and discourse with him, and to try to convince him : and S. Fisher talking with him, L. Howard told him, that God was a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and truth, of all those that would worship him acceptably. And also, that it was contrary to truth, for a proud man to sing, " he was not puffed in mind, he had no scornful eye, and he did not exercise himself in things that were too high ;" when he lived in pride, wherein God beheld him afar off. And further, that it was very unbecoming for such a one to sing, " Rivers of tears run down mine eyes, because other men keep not thy laws," when he never knew a true sorrow and repentance for his own sins. This reason of Howard's, against the customary singing in their worship, had so much influence upon S. Fisher, that from that time he was stopped from any more giving David's conditions to the people to sing ; and becoming in time more and more uneasy to go on in acting what was burdensome to his conscience, he resolved to desist from his ministry, and so went to the bishop, and delivered up the commission that he had received from him to preach : and casting himself upon God's providence, he took a farm, and turned grazier, by which means he maintained his wife and children much better to his content than before.

Departing thus from the Episcopalian church, he went over to the Baptists, and became a zealous teacher among them. It was about this time, that W. Caton and J. Stubbs came to Lydd, whom S. Fisher received into his house, remembering that Scripture exhortation, " Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for many thereby have entertained angels unawares." W. Caton went to the meeting of the Independents, and Stubbs to that of the Baptists, where Fisher then preached ; and J. Stubbs having got opportunity to speak, declared truth so plainly, that S. Fisher being very much affected with it, began to paraphrase upon it with excellency of speech. W. Caton and J. Stubbs departing this place, went to another town in this county, but not long after returning to Lydd, they found S. Fisher in fellowship with themselves ; for it happened that his fellow-teacher, George Hammond, in his sermon so violently inveighed against those called Quakers, that S. Fisher could not be satisfied until he stood up in the said meeting, and bore a public testimony against the revilings of Hammond : saying to him, ' Dear brother, you are very dear and near to me, but the truth is nearer and dearer : it is the everlasting truth and gospel which they hold forth.' And speaking more words to that effect, he openly defended the doctrine of the reviled Quakers. This so vexed Hammond, that

falling into a greater rage, he said, 'Our brother Fisher is also bewitched.' But Fisher rendered not reviling for reviling, but continued with patience in the faith. This was he who afterwards writ a book, called *Rusticus ad Academicos*, wherein he often encountered the priests with their own weapons; for he was very dexterous at that, and so well versed in the ancient poets, that he now and then with their words, gave home-blows to his adversaries, allowing himself sometimes the freedom of the prophet Elijah against the prophets of Baal. He writ also a paper in Hebrew to the Jews, in which language he was well skilled. But before I say more of him, I return to W. Caton and J. Stubbs. They went from Lydd to Ashford, Tenterden, Cranbrook, and Staplehurst, where they found an open and tender-hearted people, who embraced their doctrine, and some would have given them money, nay, even have forced it upon them, yet they would not take any: but as they freely had received, so they freely gave: telling people it was not theirs, but them, which they sought. Thence they travelled to Maidstone, where J. Stubbs went to the public place of worship, and W. Caton to the meeting of the Independents. J. Stubbs was taken at the steeple-house, and W. Caton, the day following from his inn, and were both sent to the house of correction, where they were searched, and their money, inkhorns, and Bibles, &c. taken from them. Afterwards they were stripped, and their necks and arms put in the stocks, and in that condition were desperately whipped. A hard encounter indeed, especially such a young man as W. Caton was; but they were supported by an invisible hand. Afterwards means were used to compel them to work; and it was told them, he that would not work should not eat. But they were not free to consent thereto, because they esteemed this demand unjust, not being guilty of the breach of any law. Thus they were kept without victuals for some days, only a little water once a day was allowed them. In the meanwhile, the malefactors that were there, would have given them of their bread; yea, the women of the house being moved with compassion, would have given them something privately; but they were not free to accept of either. Now the report of this cruelty being spread in town, many began to be offended at it; so that an officer was sent to make restitution of some of their things, which had been taken from them, and then they bought victuals with their own money. Not long after they were parted, and with officers conveyed out of the town, one at the one end of it, and the other at the other.

At length W. Caton came to London, where he found his companion, J. Stubbs; but when there, it came upon them to return to the town from whence they came, which was no small trial to them; but yet they resigned, and gave up to what they believed to be the will of the Lord. Now Providence so ordered it, that

none meddled with them, though they, to be more fully seen, went on a first-day of the week to the steeple-house. They went also to Canterbury, where, at the meetings of the Baptists and Independents, they had pretty good liberty to declare the Truth amongst them; and some, being convinced, received their testimony. They were likewise at Sandwich, where W. Caton had some service among the Dutch people, at their steeple-house.

It was now nigh midsummer, when he felt a motion to go over to Calais, in France. For that end he went to Dover, and so to Calais, where coming to their high place of worship, his spirit was very much grieved and burdened, with the great idolatry in vogue there; for he saw how some were worshipping before their dumb idols, and he could not well ease his spirit for want of the language. Having some time walked about in the town, he came to be known to some of the chief of the city, who desiring to speak with him, some of them came down in person to the quay, to look for him; and understanding he was aboard, he was called ashore, and conveyed to a large house, where several of the great ones were come to see and hear him: so that he had a very good opportunity to declare the Truth among them, there being a Scotch lord who interpreted for him. After he had cleared his conscience, they suffered him to depart quietly.

Soon after he returned for England, and found his companion, J. Stubbs, at Dover; and it being upon him to go for Holland, W. Caton was made free to accompany him. With this intent, they went together to Yarmouth, but could not find passage there for Holland, and so they passed further to the north; and coming to Swarthmore, W. Caton found his friends very glad to see him, especially Margaret Fell, who had been as a nursing mother to him. After some stay there; having been abundantly refreshed, they went to Shields, where they heard of a ship bound for Flanders; but having little inclination to go thither, came soon after to Yarmouth, where they found a ship intended for Flushing, in Zealand. With this vessel they went over, and arrived safely at the said town: and on the first-day of the week, they went to the congregation of the English and Scotch, where many wondered at them because of their nonconformity; and after they began to speak, there arose a great stir, so that they were soon hurried out. The same day they went to Middleburgh, whither being come before the afternoon's worship was ended, one of them began to speak after the priest had done: but he stopped him presently, thinking at first they were such as came thither begging; but perceiving the contrary, he and others were the more violent. After that, he sent for them to his house, and reasoned awhile with them; but he being of a lofty mind, they found but slight entertainment there. After a short stay in town, they embarked themselves for Rotterdam, in Holland, where being come, when they had been

some few days in the city, they got a meeting at an English merchant's house: but he that interpreted for them, not rendering their words truly, it seemed not to satisfy the hearers. After some time they returned to Zealand, and from thence again to England, where being arrived, W. Caton journeyed to Swarthmore, and was received there with joy; and having some drawings to Scotland, he went to Bishoprick (Durham,) where he found his companion J. Stubbs again, with whom he travelled towards Scotland. It was about the beginning of the month called December, when they came to Berwick upon Tweed, where W. Caton went into the great public assembly: and when the priest had done, he stepped upon a seat, and beginning to speak, none seemed to make such haste to get away, as the priest: in the meanwhile W. Caton spoke with great boldness, and had pretty good liberty to declare the truth. But when he had done, he was taken hold of, and brought before the magistrates, who ordered that he should be turned out of the town; which was done. J. Stubbs was that day in a meeting of the Baptists, and had some service there. Not long after, W. Caton, who wandering up and down, could not well get any lodging for his money, returned, and came into the town again, the guard suffering him very freely to pass.

Then they both travelled to Edinburgh in Scotland, where they found things somewhat out of order, through the unfaithfulness of some that were convinced of the truth; but their ministry was so effectual among them, that they were brought into better order again: and so they edified the church according to their ability, the meeting being kept at the house of William Osburn, who had been a lieutenant-colonel, and afterwards become a zealous minister among the flock there. While W. Caton was there, he went once to the chief steeple-house, where, after the priest had done, he spoke to the people; but, the multitude combining, he was not suffered to say much, but was carried out; and coming into the street, there was a guard of soldiers, who conducted him with drawn swords to the places where he desired to be. He was about that time also with general Monk, who behaved himself moderately, and heard him. J. Stubbs now returning to England, W. Caton went to Stirling, where being carried to the governor, he was at first high, but when W. Caton, who was a man of meek behaviour, had spoke a little to him, he became cool and sedate. He then went to the English chaplain's house, who was kind to him. From Edinburgh he went to Glasgow, where going into the great cathedral, after the service was done, he had some liberty to speak to the multitude in the yard, the rude people being kept under by the English soldiers, who were moderate, so that he had very good service there. He also went to Douglas, where his service was no less, both in the steeple-house and elsewhere: so that having cleared himself

in Scotland, he returned to England, and came again to Swarthmore, where he was received as formerly, in very great love.

Leaving him there, I turn again to G. Fox, whom we left in Bedfordshire. From thence he went by London to Kent, and came to Romney, not long after W. Caton and J. Stubbs had been there. Here he had a very large meeting, whither Samuel Fisher also came, and there was a great conviction that day, so that many were turned to the light of Christ; and after the meeting, S. Fisher's wife said, 'Now we may discern betwixt flesh and spirit, and distinguish spiritual teaching from fleshly.'

From hence G. Fox went to Dover and Canterbury, and further into Sussex, and so to Reading, where they had a great meeting, and many were convinced that day. There came also George Bishop of Bristol, who being a captain, then wore a sword, though in time he entirely left it off.

G. Fox going from hence, passed up to London, where leaving him for some time, we will go and behold the life and occurrences of James Parnel, who was born at Retford, in Nottinghamshire, and trained up in the schools of literature. He laboured very early in the ministry of the gospel, having been convinced by G. Fox, when not quite sixteen years of age, and then embraced the truth; though for that reason despised and rejected by his relations. He was (though of low stature) endued with great ability, and did not fear, wherever he came, to call people to repentance. Being imprisoned at Cambridge for his zealous testimony, and afterward turned out of town like a vagabond, he soon came back, and disputed with the scholars of the University; but met with rude and bad entertainment from them. In the beginning of this year he came into Essex, being then about eighteen years of age, and preached the gospel in several parts of that county, as Felsted, Stebbing, Witham, Coggeshall, Halsted, and other places, and many received the word by his ministry. About the middle of the summer he came to Colchester, and there preached the gospel on a first-day of the week in a steeple-house, after the sermon; then in a great meeting appointed on purpose; and after that he disputed with the town-lecturer, and another priest, in the French school, all in one day; so that many were convinced of the truth preached by him; and among these also Stephen Crisp, of whom more will be said hereafter. J. Parnel spent that week in the said town, preaching, exhorting, and disputing, to the convincing of many; though others were enraged, insomuch, that his godly zeal was often rewarded with blows; as once coming out of Nicholas steeple-house, he was struck by one with a great staff, who said, 'There, take that for Christ's sake.' To which he meekly answered, 'Friend, I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake.' Many other grievous affronts he bore, without showing

any heat or anger ; so that he was a real pattern of patience and meekness.

Having laboured in the gospel about ten days in Colchester, he went to Coggeshall, where a fast was proclaimed, to be held upon the 12th of the month called July, to pray against the errors of the people called Quakers. J. Parnel being come thither, went into the steeple-house, where he stood still, till the priest was coming out of the pulpit. Now since this priest, Sammes, who was an Independent, had cried out fiercely against the Quakers, as deceivers, J. Parnel esteemed it his duty to say something to that ; and the first words he spoke were, ' This is the order of the true church, that all may speak one by one ; and if any thing be revealed to him that stands by, let the first hold his peace.' Then he spoke on behalf of those called Quakers, but the priest interrupting, asked, what he would object against him ? to which J. Parnel answered, in that he reviled the people called Quakers, and said they were built upon a sandy foundation, and so called them Shakers. ' But,' said he, ' I will prove their foundation not to be sandy, and thee to be a false prophet.' After some more words spoken by him, some accused him, that he owned no church : to which he said it was false. Then it was asked him, what church he owned ? And he answered, the church in God. Then priest Williams stood up, and said he spoke nothing but nonsense. Parnel bade him name one word which he had spoken that was nonsense. At which Willis said, ' To say the church in God.' Then Parnel took out his Bible, and read 1 Thes. i. 1, where the apostle writes to the church, which is in God the Father. The priest now was at a loss, and Parnel told him, that he blasphemed in saying the church in God was nonsense. Then priest Stellum stood up, and accused Parnel with lies and slanders, and not suffering him to clear himself from those accusations, he got up into the pulpit, and began to pray ; but Parnel not taking off his hat, the magistrates called to him to put it off. To which he returned, ' Order the priest to put off his cap ;' and further said, before he should be subject to their wills, he would rather pass out of the meeting-place ; and so he went out.

Not long after, justice Dionysius Wakering followed him, and struck him with his hand upon his back, saying he arrested him in the name of the lord protector. Parnel not knowing him to be a magistrate, asked him where his writ was. Wakering said he had one ; but showed none. Then Parnel was hurried into a house, and some of his friends engaged, that he should be forthcoming when their worship was done. And accordingly he appeared where four justices, and six or seven priests were met together. Then justice Wakering pulled his hat off his head,

and threw it away ; and they questioned him concerning many things ; all which he answered, with many frivolous questions asked to ensnare him. At last he was committed to the common gaol at Colchester, where none of his friends were suffered to come to him. The time of the sessions at Chelmsford being come, he, with several felons and murderers, was fastened to a chain, and thus led about eighteen miles through the country, remaining chained both night and day.

Being brought into the court before judge Hills, the gaoler took off his hat and cast it upon the floor. Then the clerk read his indictment, and asked him if he was guilty ; to which he said, that he denied all guilt ; and he called for his accusers. The judge said he might see them ; and that he ought to say guilty, or not guilty. On which Parnel told him, he was not guilty. Then a jury of twelve men was called, whose foreman was a drunkard ; priest Willis was also called, who swore against him, and so did two justices ; one of their men swearing that they would speak nothing against him but the truth. The accusations were, that in a riotous manner he did enter into the parish church at Great Coggeshall ; that he there did stand up, and told the minister he blasphemed, and spoke falsely, using many other reproachful words against him : and he could not give a good account where he was last settled, or of his life and conversation, appearing to be an idle person. He was also accused with contempt of the magistracy and of the ministry. To this he answered, that he no ways in a riotous manner entered the steeplehouse, but came thither quietly, and alone : for being followed by several boys that would have come in after him, he bade them go in before, rather than go in disorderly, whereby to occasion any disturbance. That he had said to priest Willis, he blasphemed, by saying 'the church in God' was nonsense, he denied not ; but did not own himself to be a vagabond and idle person. And he did not think it indecent to call an unjust judge, 'unrighteous ;' a persecutor, 'persecutor ;' and a deceiver, 'deceiver.' Thus Parnel pleaded his cause. Yet the judge said to the jury, that if they did not find him guilty, the sin would lie upon their heads ; thus condemning the prisoner before the jury had considered the case. Then J. Parnel began to speak, to inform them concerning his cause, but the judge would not suffer him, though one of the jury desired it. After consultation, the jury had nothing to lay to his charge, but a paper in which he had answered the mittimus, though he had already owned this paper to be his writing. But in that they were at a loss, because in the indictment he was accused of a riot : yet the judge and the clerk strove to draw some words from the foreman, which the other jurymen did not consent to, and he himself was unwilling to answer fully to their questions. Then J. Parnel was made to withdraw ; and being

called in again, the judge fined him to the value of about forty pounds, for contempt of the magistracy and ministry ; for he said the lord protector had charged him to punish such persons as should contemn either magistracy or ministry. Thereupon J. Parnel was carried back again to the prison, being an old ruinous castle, built, as it is reported, in the time of the ancient Romans : here he was to be kept until the fine should be paid ; and the gaoler was commanded, not to let any giddy-headed people (by which denomination they meant his friends) come at him.

The gaoler was willing enough to comply with this order, suffering none to come to him, but such as abused him ; and his wife, who was a wicked shrew, did not only set her man to beat him, but several times herself laid violent hands upon him, and swore she would have his blood : she also set other prisoners to take away the victuals brought to him by his friends ; and would not let him have a trundle bed, which they would have brought him to lie on, so that he was forced to lie on the cold and damp stones. Afterwards he was put into the hole in the wall, a room much like a baker's oven ; for the walls of that building, which is indeed a direful nest, are of an excessive thickness, as I have seen myself, having been in the hole where this pious young man ended his days, as will be said by and by. Being confined in the said hole, which was, as I remember, about twelve foot high from the ground, and the ladder too short by six foot ; he must climb up and down by a rope on a broken wall, which he was forced to do to fetch his victuals, or for other necessities : for though his friends would have given him a cord and a basket to draw up his victuals in, yet such was the malice of his keepers, that they would not suffer it.

Continuing in this moist hole, his limbs grew benumbed ; and thus it once happened, that as he was climbing up the ladder, with his victuals in one hand, and come to the top thereof, catching at the rope with his other, he missed the same, and fell down upon the stones, whereby he was exceedingly wounded in his head, and his body so bruised, that he was taken up for dead. Then they put him into a hole underneath the other ; for there were two rows of such vaulted holes in the wall. This hole was called the oven, and so little, that some bakers' ovens were bigger, though not so high. Here (the door being shut) was scarcely any air, there being no window or hole. And after he was a little recovered from his fall, they would not suffer him to take the air, though he was almost spent for want of breath : and though some of his friends, viz. William Talcot and Edward Grant, did offer their bond of forty pounds to the justice Henry Barrington, and another, whose name was Thomas Shortland, to lie body for body, that Parnel might but have his liberty to come

to W. Talcot's house, and return when recovered; yet this was denied; nay, so immovable were they set against him, that when it was desired that he might only walk a little sometimes in the yard, they would not grant it by any means: and once the door of the hole being open, and he coming forth, and walking in a narrow yard between two high walls, so incensed the gaoler, that he locked up the hole, and shut him out in the yard all night, being in the coldest time of the winter. This hard imprisonment did so weaken him, that after ten or eleven months he fell sick, and died. At his departure there were with him Thomas Shortland and Ann Langley: and it was one of these (that came often to him) who long after brought me into this hole where he died.

Several things which are related here, I had from the mouth of eye-witnesses, who lived in that town. When death approached, he said, 'Here I die innocently.' A little after he was heard to say, 'Now I must go:' and turning his head to Thomas, he said, 'This death must I die, Thomas; I have seen great things: don't hold me, but let me go.' Then he said again, 'Will you hold me?' To which Ann answered, 'No, dear heart, we will not hold thee.' He had often said that one hour's sleep would cure him of all: and the last words he was heard to say, were, 'Now I go;' and then stretched out himself, and slept about an hour, and breathed his last. Thus this valiant soldier of the Lamb conquered through sufferings: and so great was the malice and envy of his persecutors, that to cover their guilt and shame, they spread among the people, that by immoderate fasting, and afterwards with too greedy eating, he had shortened his days. But this was a wicked lie; for though it be true that he had no appetite to eat some days before he fell sick, yet when he began to eat again, he took nothing but a little milk, as was declared by credible witnesses. During his imprisonment he wrote several edifying epistles to his friends.

By continuing this relation without breaking off, I am advanced somewhat as to time; but going back a little, let us see the transactions of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill. It was in the year 1655, that they went together to Ireland, where they came in the summer, and staid more than six months, having spent at Dublin about three months, without being disturbed, though they omitted no opportunity to declare the doctrine of truth. Henry Cromwell, son of the protector, was at that time lord deputy of Ireland; and it was in his name that they were carried from Cork (whither they were gone) to Dublin; for since several received their testimony, and adhered to the doctrine they preached, it was resolved upon, not to let them stay any longer in Ireland. Here it was, as I have been told, that William Ames, by their ministry, was brought over into the society of the

Quakers, so called. He was a Baptist teacher, and also a military officer, who being of a strict life himself, kept his soldiers under a severe discipline. I remember how he used to tell us, that when any soldier under his colours had been guilty of any immorality on a first-day of the week, he presently had him bound neck and heels. But being now entered into the society of the despised Quakers, and in process of time becoming a minister among them, it was not long before he was cast into prison; of whom more may be said hereafter.

Now E. Burrough and F. Howgill were banished out of Ireland; but on the same day that they were sent away, Barbara Blaugdone arrived there. She went from England in a vessel bound for Cork, but by foul weather carried to Dublin. When the tempest was high, the seaman said that she being a Quaker was the cause of it, and they conspired to cast her overboard. Aware of this plot, she told the master what his men designed to do, and said that if he did suffer this, her blood would be required at his hands. So he charged them not to meddle with her. The storm continuing, and it being on a first-day of the week, she went upon the deck, feeling herself moved to speak to the seamen by way of exhortation, and to pray for them; for their priest, afraid like the rest, could not say any thing among them. Having spoke what was upon her, she concluded with a prayer; and all the ship's crew was very quiet and sedate, saying that they were more beholden to her than to their priest, because she prayed for them; and he, for fear, could not open his mouth to speak. At length they arrived safe at Dublin, without damage, which indeed was strange, and made the master say that he was never in such a storm without receiving any loss.

Barbara going ashore, went to the house of the deputy; but the people told her, there was for her no speaking with him; for she might know that he had banished two of her friends out of the nation the day before. Then she met with the secretary, and desired him to help her to speak with the deputy. He answered that he did not think he could; then she told him that if he would be so civil, as to go up and tell the deputy that there was a woman below that would speak with him; if he refused, she was answered. So the secretary went up; and there came a man to fetch her into the withdrawing-room; and after she had been there a while, a person came out of the deputy's chamber, and all that accompanied him stood bare-headed (for they knew she never saw the deputy) but she had a sense it was a priest, who showed himself covered to deceive her: and the room being almost full of people, they asked her why she did not do her message to their lord. To which she answered, 'When I see your lord, then I shall do my message to him.' A little after the deputy came forth, and sat down on a couch: she then stood up,

and speaking to him what was upon her mind, bade him beware that he was not found fighting against God, in opposing the truth, and persecuting the innocent; but like wise Gamaliel, to let them alone; for if it was of God, it would stand; but if of man, it would fall. Further, that the enmity did not lie so much in himself, but he was stirred up to it by evil magistrates, and bad priests; and that God's people were as dear to him now, as ever; and they that touched them, touched the apple of his eye. In the meanwhile, in his name, and by his power, there was much hurt done to the people of God, all over the nation, and it would at last lie heavy upon him. Moreover, that the teachers of the people did cause them to err, and that he knew the priests' condition. She touching upon that, the deputy said to the priest that stood by, 'There's for you, Mr. Harrison:' and she spoke with such power, that it made the deputy much concerned: and when she had done, he asked the priest what he had to say to that which she spoke? And he said, it was all very true, and very good, and he had nothing to say against it, if she did speak as she meant. Then she told the priest, that the Spirit of God was true, and did speak as it meant, and meant as it spoke; but that men of corrupt minds did pervert the Scriptures, by putting their own imaginations and conceivings upon it, and so did deceive the people: but the holy men of God wrote, and gave forth the Scriptures as they were inspired of the Holy Ghost; and that they were of no private interpretation; and could not be understood but by the same Spirit that gave them forth.

After having thus spoken, she went away, and returned to her lodging, which was at one captain Rich's house, who coming home, said that the deputy was so sad and melancholy, after she had been with him, that he could not go to bowls, or any other pastime.

Barbara having now performed her service at Dublin, went to Cork, where she had some relations and acquaintance: but great were her sufferings thereabout; for she was imprisoned almost wherever she came, being moved to follow those of her acquaintance, into several steeple-houses; yet wherever her mouth was opened, there was some that received her testimony. Once she was made to speak in a market-place, where a butcher swore he would cleave her head; and having lifted up his cleaver to do it, there came a woman behind him, and catching his arms, stopped him, till the soldiers came and rescued Barbara. Many of her acquaintance, with whom she formerly had been very conversant, were now afraid of her; for sometimes she spoke so awfully to them in their houses, that it made them tremble; and some said she was a witch; and running away, their servants turned her out of doors. After having been there some time, she returned

home to Bristol ; but it was not very long ere she was moved to go to Ireland again ; and being come near Dungarvan, the ship foundered near the shore : the master and the passengers got into the boat, save one man and a woman, who were cast away ; and Barbara who was still in the cabin, was almost stifled by waves, that beat in upon her ; yet at length she got upon the deck. The master in the meanwhile being come ashore, called to her, that if she would leap down, he and another would venture to come into the water to save her. Accordingly they came up to their necks, and she leaping down, they caught her ; but being entangled in the ropes in leaping down, she was drawn from them again : but presently a wave came rolling and beat the ship outward, which was their preservation ; for if it had beaten inward, it might have killed them all three ; she was thus caught, again, and drawn to shore. Then she went to Dublin, where coming into the court of justice, she spoke to the judges, and exhorted them to righteousness. But this was taken so ill, that she was put into prison, where she lay upon straw on the ground, and when it rained, the wet and filth of the house of office ran in under her. Being arraigned at the bar, she was required to plead guilty or not guilty. She answered that there was no guilt upon any one's conscience for what was done in obedience to the Lord God. But she not answering in that form of words they bid her, was sent back to prison again, where she suffered much. In the meanwhile, there happened a singular instance, which I cannot pass by with silence.

At that time there was in prison an innkeeper, with his family, being accused of a murder : now the brother of him that was either murdered or lost, could not enjoy some land, except he could prove that his brother was dead ; and in order thereto, he brought a fellow into the prison, who said, he would prove that the man was killed at such an inn, and buried under a wall : and he accused the inn-keeper and his wife, their man and maid, and a smith, to be guilty of this murder ; they being already in prison. Barbara having heard of this, found means to go to this desperate fellow : and asked him, how he could conceal this murder so long, when he was, according to law, as guilty of it as any of them, if what he said were true. At this question he trembled so exceedingly, that his knees struck one against another ; and he confessed that he never before saw the said people with his eyes, nor ever was at the place in his life, nor knew any thing of it, but only he was drawn in by the man that was to have the land, and was persuaded to witness the fact. Other prisoners heard this confession also, and Barbara, sent to the deputy, desiring him to send down his priest, that he might hear the said confession. The priest came, and the fellow confessed the same to him as he had done to Barbara ; and he once also confessed the same before the judge. But afterwards he eat his words ; for the man that had induced him, came every day,

and made him drink plentifully, and also caused the gaoler to lock up Barbara, that she might not come to him. Then she wrote to the innkeeper and his wife, and man, and also to judge Pepes, and told him, the day of his death did draw nigh, wherein he must give an account of his actions; and that therefore he ought to take heed, that he did not condemn innocent people, having but one witness, in whose mouth so many lies were found, the others all saying they were innocent. For all that, the judge went on, and condemned all the accused, and the accuser also, as conscious to the crime. Hereupon a priest came to speak to the maid that was condemned, and was in the same prison with Barbara; but she would not see him, saying, 'Nay, he can do me no good; I have done with man for ever: but God, thou knowest that I am innocent of what they lay to my charge.' But, however, they were all hanged, and the witness first, probably for fear he should have made another confession, after he had seen the others hanged.

Now some friends of Barbara, viz. Sir William King, colonel Fare, and the lady Brown, hearing she was in prison, came to see her, and afterwards went to the aforementioned judge, to get her released: but when they came to him, he told them, that he was afraid of his life. At which they laughed, and said, they had known her from a child, and there was no harm in her at all. And being all very earnest to get her liberty, they at last obtained it. Then she went to the steeple-house where this judge was, and cleared herself of him. He being come home, went to bed, and died that night. The noise of which sudden death being spread, it made people say, that Barbara had been a true prophetess unto him.

She now went to Limerick, where she was put into prison; but after a while being released, she took shipping for England again; and at sea was robbed of all that she had, by a privateer, who, coming on board, took the master away, until he should pay them a sum of money, for the ship and goods; but she came safe to England. She travelled at her own charge, paying for what she had.

But leaving her, I will return to Miles Halhead, who, as he was following the plough, in the beginning of this year, felt a motion to go to London. Taking York and Hull in his way and passing thence through Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, he came to the city of London. From whence, after some stay, he went to Bristol with Thomas Salthouse, and so to Exeter and Plymouth, where he suffered much persecution, and was imprisoned. He writ about that time a letter to his wife, which I think worth the while to insert here, and was as followeth.

‘ Anne Halhead,

‘ My dear heart, my dear love in the bowels of love, in the Lord Jesus Christ, salutes thee and my children. My soul, my soul is poured forth in love to thee daily, and the breathings of my soul to my Father is for thee, that thou mayst be kept in the fear of the Lord, and in his counsel daily, that so thou mayest come to rest and peace, that is laid up for all that fear him, and walk in obedience to the light that Jesus Christ hath enlightened them withal. So, my dear heart, I declare to thee, in the presence of the living God, who is Lord of heaven and earth, and before men and angels, there is no other way that leads to peace, and eternal rest, but walking in obedience to the light that comes from Jesus Christ ; and of this light thou hast received a measure. Therefore, my dear heart, be faithful to the Lord in what is made known unto thee, that thou mayest come to witness true peace and rest, that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what is laid up for all them that fear him. So, my dear heart, as I have found peace and eternal rest to my soul from the Lord, so I am moved of the Lord in love to thy soul, to show thee the way that leads to peace and eternal rest ; which way is Christ, who is the light, and the way that leads to the Father, from whence all light comes ; and of this light which comes from Christ, I bear record thou hast received a measure. Therefore in dear love I exhort thee to walk in obedience to thy measure, which thou hast received from the Lord. So in the presence of the Lord God do I declare, that walking in obedience to this light that comes from Christ, is the way that leads to eternal rest and peace. Therefore as thou tenderest the eternal good of thy soul, be faithful to the light that comes from Christ, which light beareth witness against lying, and swearing, and vain-talking, and all manner of evil. So, my dear wife, in bowels of dear love to thy soul, which is more precious than all the world, have I showed thee the way ; if thou wilt walk in it, it will lead thee into the eternal covenant of life and peace. So, my dear wife, in love, in love I have cleared my conscience to thee, in the presence of the living God, as a true and faithful husband to thee, desiring thy eternal good and welfare as my own, the Lord God is my witness. Dear wife, remember my dear love to all my friends and countrymen, according to the flesh ; for I desire the eternal good and welfare of you all, and that you all may come to believe in the light in your own consciences, which Jesus Christ hath enlightened you with ; which light bears witness against lying, and swearing, and all manner of evil. This is the light of Christ, and walking in obedience to this light is the way that leads out of sin and evil, up to God eternal, blessed for evermore : and he that acts con-

trary to this light in his own conscience, it is his condemnation. Now, dear friends, while you have time, prize it.

Thy husband, and a lover of thy soul,

Miles Halhead.'

'Wiltshire, the 7th of the third month,
1655.'

This year also he writ the following epistle to his fellow-believers.

'Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

'In the north of England, even to the south, the land of our nativity, whom the Lord God of heaven and earth hath called and chosen in this the day of his eternal everlasting love, to serve him in truth, and in righteousness, who hath received the Lord's truth in the love of it, not only to believe in his name, but to suffer bonds and imprisonments, and hard sentences for the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God. Dear friends, and beloved brethren, my prayers to the Lord God of heaven and earth, and my soul's desire is for you all, that you may all dwell together as children of one father, in the eternal bond of love, and oneness of the Spirit; that you may all grow in the eternal living truth of God, to be established upon the rock and sure foundation, that the gates of hell and death cannot prevail against you; that under the shadow of the wings of the Almighty, you may all be kept and preserved in peace and rest, now in the day of trial, and hour of darkness, when hell hath opened her mouth, and the raging sea cast out her proud waves, even like to overflow the banks. Glory, glory, and eternal living praises be given to the Lord God, and to the Lamb for evermore, of all the children of the light, who hath found a resting-place for all his dear ones, lambs, and babes, and children of light to flee into, in the needful time of trouble, where none can make them afraid, nor take away their peace, as they abide faithful to him, who is our way, our light, our life, our strength, and eternal portion for ever. My dear friends and brethren, I beseech you in the bowels of dear and tender love, that you walk as dear children, faithful to him who hath called you with an honourable calling, and loved you from the beginning with an everlasting love, that all your friends and neighbours, and men of this world, that see your life coupled with fear, may be made to confess and acknowledge, to the honour and glory of the living Lord, that the God whom we serve and fear, is the only true God of Israel: and herein you become a precious savour unto the living eternal God, and a sweet-smelling savour unto all

the children of light, and no good thing will the Lord God withhold from you; the mouth of the Lord God of Hosts hath spoken it, whose promises are Yea and Amen to his own seed for evermore.

Miles Halhead.'

'Given forth the 14th of the sixth month, 1655,
when I was a prisoner at the prison-house
in the city of Exeter, in Devonshire, for the
testimony of Jesus, and the word of God.'

A chief cause why he was imprisoned there, was, that Thomas Salthouse, with whom he travelled, (having heard that one George Brooks, a priest belonging to the Nightingale frigate, said, after the declarations of M. Halhead and T. Salthouse, at Plymouth, that it was the eternal truth which they had spoken, with many other words in vindication of what they said,) told Brooks, that he had spoken many good words, and fair speeches; but asked him, whether he lived the life of what he spoke? Further, 'He that entereth not by the door, but climbeth up some other way, is, as Christ said, a thief and a robber.' For T. Salthouse thought, and that not without reason, as will be shown by and by, that he did not want the praises of this priest, that were not better than those of the damsel possessed with a spirit of divination, which she spoke concerning Paul and Silas, viz. 'These men are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the way of salvation.' Now what T. Salthouse had spoken to the priest, was called provoking language; the rather, because when the priest was speaking of the trinity, T. Salthouse had asked him, where that word was to be found in the Scriptures; saying further, 'I know no such Scripture that speaks of the three persons in the trinity; but the three that the Scripture speaks of, are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.' From hence T. Salthouse and M. Halhead were accused as such as denied the Holy Three that are One.' But because about this accusation, they were at a loss in the court, something else was thought of to ensnare them, viz. they were required to take the oath of abjuration of the Pope. This oath the mayor of Plymouth had already tendered them, when they were first apprehended; and they refusing to swear, were sent to Exeter prison; and now being brought to trial, and the said oath required of them, they answered thus:

'In the presence of the eternal God, and before all this people, we do deny, with as much detestation as any of you doth, the Pope and his supremacy, and the purgatory, and all that is in the form of the oath mentioned, we declare freely against: and we do not deny to swear because of any guilt that is upon us, but

in obedience to the command of Christ, who saith, "Swear not at all:" and we will not come under the condemnation of an oath, for the liberty of the outward man.'

Thus refusing to swear, merely that they might not offend against the command of our Saviour, they were sent back to prison again, as such that clandestinely adhered to the Pope: and use hath been made of this snare during the space of many years, to vex the Quakers, so called. The next day the prisoners were brought again before the bench, and were asked:

'Will ye confess, that you wronged G. Brooks, in calling him thief, and be sorry for it, and make him satisfaction?'

To this M. Halhead answered:

'One of us did not speak one word to him, and therefore I deny to make him satisfaction, or to be sorry for it: and what was spoken was no such thing; therefore we will not lie for our liberty, nor confess that we are sorry for that which we never spoke.'

Then the court fined them five pounds a piece; and they were to go to the house of correction till payment, and to find sureties for their good behaviour: and for refusing to take the oath, the court threatened to send into the north to seize on their estates. So they were returned to prison; and what follows, was entered as the record of their proceedings.

'July 10, 1655. Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, for provoking words against G. Brooks, clerk, who refused to be tried by the country, fined £5. a piece, committed to Bridewell till payment, and finding sureties for their good behaviour.'

What is said here of refusing to be tried by the country, was a notorious untruth; and as to finding sureties, that seemed of little moment; for though the giving of security had been offered before, when they were taken prisoners, yet that was not accepted of; and the mayor, John Page, had the boldness to assert, that they refused to give security, as will appear by the warrant by which he sent them to the common gaol in Exeter, whereof the following is a true copy:

'Devon,

John Page, merchant, mayor of the borough of Plymouth, in the county aforesaid, and one of his highness's justices of the peace within the said borough, to the keeper of his highness's gaol at Exon castle, or to his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting. I send you herewithal by the bearer hereof, the bodies of Thomas Salthouse, late of Dragglibeck, in the county of

Lancaster, husbandman; and Miles Halhead, late of Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland, lately apprehended here, as disturbers of the public peace, and for divers other high misdemeanors against a late proclamation, prohibiting the disturbing of ministers and other Christians in their assemblies and meetings, and against an ordinance of his said highness the lord protector, and his council, lately made against duels, challenges, and all provocations thereto, who have refused to give sufficient security for their personal appearance at the next general sessions of the peace, to be held for the county of Devon; and in the mean time to be of good behaviour towards his highness the lord protector, and all his liege people. These are therefore in his said highness's name, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, shall be unto you brought, you them safely detain, and keep them, until by due course of law they shall be thence delivered: hereof fail not at your peril. Given under my hand, and seal of Plymouth aforesaid, the 28th day of May, in the year of our Lord God, 1655.

John Page, mayor.'

By this may be seen under what frivolous pretences those called Quakers were imprisoned, viz. because of an ordinance made against duels, &c. and as for their having refused to give security, how untrue this was, as well as other accusations, may appear from the following certificate:

'We whose names are hereunto subscribed, do testify, that the several particulars in an answer made by our friends, are true, to wit, That they did not at all disturb the public peace, nor were they at any other meeting (but that which was appointed by us) to disturb any ministers, or other Christians in their assemblies and meetings: nor were they guilty of any challenges, duels, and provocations thereunto, in the least measure, whilst they were amongst us. And as for their refusal to give security, two of us, whose names are Robert Cary and Arthur Cotton had given security to the mayor, by entering into recognizance for their appearance at the next sessions, the day before their sending to prison, but that the town-clerk made it void the next day, pretending it could not be according to law.

Ralph Fogg,
Arthur Cotton,
Robert Cary,

Thomas Faulkner,
Nicholas Cole,
John Martindale,

Richard Smith,
Anthony Todde,
John Harris, jun.

Richard Lepincote,
John Harris, sen.'

Now to what a height of confidence the aforesaid mayor Page, was come, in saying, that Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead had refused to give bail, nay, that this was the cause of their confinement, may also appear from the following letter he writ to general Desborough, to excuse his proceedings against them.

Plymouth, June 1, 1655.

' Right Honourable,

' Captain Hatfell hath communicated to me what you wrote him in reference to those two men, Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, of whom, and of their imprisonment, your honour had heard something from some persons of this place, and received a copy of a letter which they sent me. By the inclosed copies of their examinations, your honour will see some part of the cause of their confinement, which was on their refusal to give bail for their appearance the next general sessions, to be held for the county of Devon; they being, as I conceive, offenders within the late ordinance of his highness the lord protector and council, made against duels, challenges, and all provocations thereunto, and also his highness's late proclamation against Quakers; and they still refusing to give bail for their appearance as aforesaid, went from hence to the gaol at Exon on Tuesday last. Indeed, sir, their carriage here was not becoming men, much less Christians; and besides their contempt of authority, all the while they were in prison, they never sought God by prayer at any time, nor desired a blessing on any creature they received, or gave thanks for them. And these very men were about two months past taken up by colonel Cupplestone, high sheriff of our county, and after fourteen days restraint, were sent away by him for Taunton, from tithing to tithing, as by their own examination; and they show no occasion they have to come to these parts. They are by profession Quakers, but husbandmen by their calling: one of them is a Lancashire man, the other of Westmoreland; and they left their families, relations, and callings about three months since, as they say, and do not work, nor employ themselves in their calling, to procure themselves a livelihood, but wander up and down in all parts, to vent their wicked opinions, and discover their irregular practices in the breach of peace, and disturbance of good people. Indeed, sir, they hold many sad opinions, destructive to the true religion, and the power of godliness. I have hereby, according

to my duty, given your honour an account of what passed here in reference to these men. I could say much more in reference to their examination and discourse with them; but I fear I have already trespassed upon your honour's patience in the perusal of these lines, and humbly desiring your excuse for giving you this trouble, do most thankfully acknowledge your honour's continued favours to this place, for which we stand very much obliged, desiring your honour still to retain such an opinion of us, as those that desire to do nothing unbecoming Christians, and persons that desire the welfare and peace of this commonwealth and government, and shall ever labour to appear

Your honour's very humble servant,
(For myself and my brethren,)
John Page, mayor.'

That general Desborough was but little satisfied with this letter, seems not improbable, because enquiring into the matter, he let others have a copy of it, so that Thomas and Miles wrote an answer to it; and it was also some time after given out in public print at London, by Giles Calvert, with other writings relating thereunto. Now as to what is said in this letter of his highness's proclamation against Quakers, it was a gross untruth; for in the proclamation the Quakers were not named; but it was against the disturbing of Christians in their assemblies; and besides, the Quakers, so called, judged that their public worship was permitted them by the 37th article of the instrument of government, which said, 'That all that profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall not be restrained from, but be protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion,' &c. As concerning their contempt of authority the mayor charged them with, it was nothing else, but that for conscience-sake they could not take off their hats to the magistrates; neither did they give that honour to any other but God alone. And as to what was said, that all the while they were in prison, they never sought God by prayer, &c, this was no other matter, than that they did not follow the formal way of prayers; for they were indeed religious men, who often prayed to God, and gave him thanks; though they were represented in the letter as very wicked men, and vagabonds that had left their calling, and wandered up and down the country; although it was well known that they were honest men, that travelled on horseback, lying at the best inns on the road, and paying for what they received there. And therefore after they had got a copy of the said letter, they writ a large letter to the mayor, Page, and showed him his abominable untruths, and told him, that they had been moved several times in prison, as well as out of prison, to go to prayers, and to give

thanks for the blessings of God which they received. And in the conclusion of their letter, they signified, that they would not render railing for railing; but (said they) in the spirit of love and meekness we exhort you all to repent, and fear to offend the Lord, &c.

Now as concerning the provoking words against George Brooks, for which they had been fined, it hath been said already what they were; but this Brooks was of a dissolute life, and a debauched fellow, having for his drunkenness not only been turned out of the frigates in which he had served, but also once in the ship *Nightingale*, ignominiously exposed with a quarter can about his neck, as appears by the following testimonies:

‘I having been formerly desired to relate upon what account it was that Mr. George Brooks, chaplain of the frigate under my command was put on shore. First, because he was a busy body, and disturbed the whole ship’s company. Secondly, being on shore, it was his common practice to abuse the creature in such sort, that he was drunken, void of good reason, that he would abuse any one that came in his company, by ill language, besides the abuse of himself and the good creature, daily complaints coming unto me both aboard and on shore. Therefore knowing him to be a deboist fellow, and not fit for that employment, I put him on shore, and I dare own it, whoever shall call me to question. Witness my hand,
Robert Vessay.’

‘Mr. Brooks being formerly with me in the *Nightingale*, I found him to be very idle, and continually drunk, which once made me to put a quarter can about his neck; whereunto I subscribe,
John Jeffery, captain of the *Nantwich*.’

‘The person above mentioned I have seen drunk on shore, in testimony whereof I have set my hand,
Richard Potter,
Captain of the *Constant Warwick*, frigate.’

From such evidences as these it appears, that it was not without reason that he and the like priests sometimes were treated a little roughly. But to return to M. Halhead; he continued prisoner many months before he was released.

In the meanwhile it happened that George Whitehead, Richard Clayton, and John Harwood, coming on the 30th of the month called July, to Bures in Suffolk, were imprisoned on this occasion. R. Clayton had set up a paper on the steeple-house door, containing these queries.

‘ Whether by setting up such ministers as seek for their gain from their quarters, such as the prophet disapproves; Isaiah lvi. 11. such as the prophet Jeremiah disapproves; Jer. v. and of whom mention is made also Ezek. xxxiv. and Mic. iii. such as are called of men, masters, loving the chief places in the assemblies; such as Christ disapproved; Matt. xxiii. such as the apostle Peter disapproves, 2 Pet. ii. and which the apostle Paul disapproved also; Phil. iii. or when such were set up that would not suffer another to speak that stands by, when any thing is revealed, but send him to prison; whether this was not setting up a persecuting spirit, limiting the Spirit of God, and despising prophecies, not daring to try all things? Whether it was expedient to give to scoffers, scorers, drunkards, swearers, and persecutors, David’s conditions to sing? And if such were set up that took tithes, though the apostle said that the priesthood was changed, and the law also, Heb. vii. whether by the setting up of such, they did not set up such as did not labour in the Lord’s vineyard.’

This paper being set up, people came to read it. G. Whitehead being there, and laying hold of this opportunity, spoke a few words to the people, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord from the vanities and wickedness they lived in. And when G. Whitehead and his fellow-travellers were passing away, there came a constable who staid them, and carried them before Herbert Pelham, justice of peace. He asking several vain questions, and behaving himself rudely, G. Whitehead began to speak to him concerning his rage: but Pelham said he did not send for him to preach. And not being able to lay the transgression of any law to their charge, he sent them, by the constable, to Thomas Walgrave, justice of peace, at Smalbridge in Suffolk. Being come into his house, Richard Clayton was first examined, of his name and country, and where he had been. The same and some other frivolous questions were asked of G. Whitehead. Then Walgrave asked John Harwood if he would answer him all the questions he would demand of him: but J. Harwood refused to be limited thus to his will. Justice Pelham now being come thither also, J. Harwood told justice Walgrave, that Pelham, who had before examined him, had his examination in writing. Then the two justices consulted together what to do in the case: and not long after Thomas Walgrave asked G. Whitehead, if he would work at hay? But he denied to be bound to such task-masters, as being in that calling whereunto God had called him, and wherein he was chargeable to no man. The conclusion of their consultation was, that they caused R. Clayton to be whipped, under pretence of having fastened a seditious paper to the steeple-house door; and the other two were imprisoned.

It was about this time that William Dewsbury, and several other of his friends were put into prison at Northampton. It

happened that he being at Wellingborough, and going along the streets, the priest, Thomas Andrews, called to him in these words, 'Give over deceiving the people, lest the plagues of God fall on thee.' To this Dewsbury returned, 'Dost thou say I deceive the people? Make it manifest wherein I deceive them.' Then Andrews said, 'Thou sayest there is not any original sin;' to this Dewsbury replied, 'Didst thou hear me say so?' But the priest unwilling to answer that question, went away. Afterwards Dewsbury went into the steeple-house in the said town, and after the sermon was done, he demanded of the priest that he would prove there before the people, what he had openly accused him of, viz. that he had said there was no original sin. Yet the priest would not answer, but went away. There was also information given that Dewsbury had said, 'The priests preach for hire, and the people love to have it so: but what will ye do in the end thereof?' But that this was really so, I do not find.

Dewsbury then being committed to prison, and kept there above half a year, was at last brought to his trial at Northampton, with other prisoners, his friends; and being set to the bar, the judge, Atkins, said to the gaoler, 'Do you use to bring prisoners before the court in this manner? You deserve to be fined ten pounds, for bringing them before the court covered.' The gaoler answered, 'If you command me, I will take off their hats.' To which the judge gave command, and the gaoler's man took them off. Then the judge said to Dewsbury, 'What art thou here for?' Dewsbury answered, 'The mittimus will express what I was committed for; but a copy of it I am denied by the keeper of the gaol.' The next query of the judge was, 'What is thy name?' And the answer was, 'Unknown to the world.' 'Let us hear' said the judge, 'what that name is, that the world knows not.' 'It is,' quoth Dewsbury, 'known in the light, and none can know it, but he that hath it; but the name the world knows me by, is William Dewsbury.' Then said the judge, 'What countryman art thou?' Dewsbury answered, 'Of the land of Canaan.' 'That is far off,' replied the judge; 'Nay,' said Dewsbury, 'for all that dwell in God, are in the holy city, New Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven, where the soul is in rest, and enjoys the love of God in Jesus Christ, in whom the union is with the Father of light.' To this the judge returned, 'That is true; but are you ashamed of your country? Is it a disparagement for you to be born in England?' 'Nay,' said Dewsbury, 'I am free to declare that my natural birth was in Yorkshire, nine miles from York, towards Hull.' Then the judge said, 'You pretend to be extraordinary men, and to have an extraordinary knowledge of God.' To which Dewsbury replied, 'We witness the work of regeneration to be an extraordinary work, wrought in us by the Spirit of God.' 'But,' said the judge, 'the apostles wrought with their hands in their

callings.' 'They had,' answered Dewsbury, 'callings in the world, some were fishermen, Paul a tent-maker: but when they were called to the ministry of Christ, they left their callings, to follow Christ, whither he led them by his Spirit, to preach the word: and I had a calling in the world, as they had, and in it did abide, until the Father revealed his Son in me, and called me from my calling I had in the world to preach the eternal word he had made known to me in the great work of regeneration.' 'Why,' queried the judge, 'didst thou not abide in thy own country, and teach people in those parts?' 'There I did stay,' returned Dewsbury, 'until I was called from thence to go where I was led by the Spirit of the Lord; and as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons and daughters of God; and they that have not the Spirit of Christ are none of his.' To this the judge said, 'You say well; for we must in charity conclude that every one in this place hath the Spirit of God in him; but how do you know that you are guided by the Spirit of God?' 'They that have the Spirit of God,' replied Dewsbury, 'are known by their fruits: and he that believeth in Jesus Christ, and is guided by his Spirit, hath the witness in himself.' 'That is true,' said the judge, 'yet, notwithstanding, I see by your carriage, that what my brother Hale did at the last assizes, in requiring bond for your good behaviour, he might justly do it; for you are against magistrates and ministers.' But Dewsbury returned, 'Make that manifest wherein we are against them.'

Then said the judge to the clerk, 'Robert Guy, what have you against these men?' And he gave relation of what Dewsbury had said to the priest Andrews in the steeple-house. Dewsbury then giving an account of the matter of fact, and how the thing happened; and that it was not any breach of the law of the nation; the judge resumed, 'But in that you are found wandering in the country, you break the law; for there is an old law, that if any did go from their dwellings to travel in the country without a certificate from some justice, they were to be taken as wandering persons.' To this Dewsbury said, 'If there be any such law, read it to us; and if there be such a law, thou knowest in thy conscience it is contrary to the Scripture; for the apostles and ministers of Christ went to and fro in the country, preaching the word of eternal life; and there were added to the church daily such as should be saved; and the number of the saints and brethren daily increased: and the law that is in force in this nation, doth allow all that profess faith in Jesus Christ, to have free liberty to walk in the faith, which is according to Scripture.' To this the judge said, 'Thou hast an eloquent tongue, and thou art proud of it.' 'Pride I deny,' replied Dewsbury, 'but the Truth I witness, which will judge pride, and torment all that live in it, until it be destroyed.' The judge then spoke to the other prisoners; and

though he behaved himself moderately, yet he could not resolve to set them at liberty ; but they were continued in prison, though they had been kept there above twenty-nine weeks.

One of these prisoners was John Huchin, whom they had nothing else to charge with, but that being come into the steeple-house at Wellingborough, he stood there peaceably in silence, but before half the sermon was over, priest Andrews commanded to have him taken away ; which was done by the churchwarden, Henry Hensnan, who carried him to an alehouse, where it was told him by the constable, that if he would not come into the church in the afternoon, he should be set free. But he refusing to make such a promise, though they let him alone then, yet some days after, a constable came to his master's shop, where he was working, and took him away without showing any warrant.

Another of the prisoners was Michael Pattison, who having been in the same steeple-house, and stood peaceably in silence until the priest Andrews had done, and the people were going away, said to him, ' Friend, canst thou witness this to be the word of the Lord, that thou hast spoken here before the people ? ' But this so offended the priest, that he commanded the officers to take Michael away, which the constable, John Brown, did.

Thomas Goodyar, who was also one of the prisoners, being come to Northampton to visit his friends in prison there, it was denied him by the gaoler ; and he meeting the mayor and some aldermen in the streets, spoke to them about persecution ; but one of the aldermen struck off his hat, and said he would teach him better manners, than to stand and talk with the mayor with his hat on. Then they required sureties for his good behaviour ; and he told them, that he was bound to good behaviour by the righteous law of God ; and refusing to find sureties, he was taken up in the street, and sent to prison without mittimus, or further examination. But I will not detain my reader any longer with these prisoners ; for if I should relate all occurrences of this nature that are come to my knowledge, and under what unreasonable pretences, even such that were as yet not fully entered into the communion of those called Quakers, were committed to prison, I must write much more than I might be able to do, though my life should yet be lengthened considerably.

I find among my papers of this time, the names of about a hundred persons, who, for not paying tithes to the priests, and refusing to swear, suffered either by seizure of their cattle and goods, or imprisonment. Thomas Aldam, for not paying tithes to the priest Thomas Rookby, of Warnsworth, was imprisoned at York in the year 1652, where he was kept above two years and a half, and besides had thirteen beeves and two horses taken from him.

But passing by a multitude of the like cases, I return again to G. Fox, whom I left at London. He, having had there several

large meetings, went from thence to Colchester, where, with difficulty, he visited James Parnel in prison. From Colchester he went to Ipswich, and so on to Norwich and Yarmouth, finding service every where.

Travelling further, in company with R. Hubberthorn, towards Lynn, and by the way being in bed at an inn, a constable and officers came thither, being sent with a hue and cry from a justice of peace, to search for two horsemen that rid upon grey horses, and in grey clothes; a house being broken up at night, as was reported. Now though they said they were honest and innocent men, yet a guard with halberds and pikes was set upon them that night, and in the morning they were carried before a justice of peace about five miles off. The justice grew angry, because they did not put off their hats to him: but G. Fox told him, he had been before the protector, and he was not offended at his hat: why then should he be offended at it, who was but one of his servants? The justice, having examined them, said, he believed they were not the men that had broken open the house; but he was sorry that he had no more against them. But G. Fox told him, he ought not to be sorry for not having evil against them; but rather to be glad. The justice, though stirred up by the constable to send them to prison, yet let them go. G. Fox being thus set at liberty, travelled on to Lynn, from whence he went to Sutton, where he had a great meeting, many people from other places being come thither, and also the mayor's wife of Cambridge; and many hundreds were convinced of the truth he preached. From thence he passed to Cambridge, and though the scholars were exceeding rude, yet he got safe into an inn. In the dark of the evening, the mayor of the town came, and fetched him to his house, whither some friendly people were sent for, and he had a meeting there. Next morning he departed the town, and returned to London, where he staid some time.

In this year came out the oath of abjuration against king Charles, whereupon he wrote to the protector, acquainting him, that many of his friends, who could not swear for conscience-sake, suffered much on this account.

From London he went to Leicestershire; and coming to Whetstone, where formerly he had been taken by colonel Hacker, he now had a great meeting, to which Hacker's wife and his marshal came, and they, besides many more, were convinced of G. Fox's ministry: who going from thence after having passed through many places, came again to London, where meeting James Nayler, and casting his eyes upon him, he was struck with a fear concerning him; being, as it were, under a sense of some great disaster that was like to befall him.

In this year Edward Burrough writ a letter to the protector, wherein he told him, that the Lord's controversy was against him,

because he had not been faithful in God's work ; but that he had taken his rest and ease upon a lofty mountain of pride and vain glory : having set up himself to be worshipped, and exalting his own horn, without giving glory and honour to God. Moreover, that he had not performed his vows made to the Lord in the day of distress ; and that now he suffered grievous oppression, cruelty, and tyranny to be acted in his name, by unjust imprisonments, and persecution of the Lord's people. That therefore the Lord would bring his judgments upon him, except he did repent. How boldly soever Burrough wrote in this letter to Cromwell, yet I do not find that he showed himself angry because of it ; but yet he hearkened too much to the flatteries of those teachers, who, being now entered into the possessions of the Episcopalians, exalted him as their idol, by their applause. And he revering them as such who could strengthen his authority with the people, winked at the grievous persecution, by their instigation carried on against the Quakers, so called.

In the meanwhile there were many malcontents, who could not bear that Cromwell should force the members of parliament to consent to make no change in the government then established, and would not suffer any one to sit in the house, without having promised by writing, not to oppose, or give his consent there to the change of the said government. This gave occasion, that even some of those who had been his eminent friends, now did not stick to reprove him sharply.

Among these was lieutenant-colonel John Lilburn, who being an extraordinary bold man, very stiff and inflexible, had more than once showed himself a public asserter of the people's liberties and freedoms ; for which he had been prosecuted at law ; viz. once in the year 1645, when he was imprisoned as guilty of treason, but was discharged ; and afterwards, in the year 1649, when, having published several books, to expose to the public the arbitrary power he thought was exercised in the government, he was confined in the Tower : and, after having been prisoner about seven months, was impeached of high treason. But he so vigorously defended his cause, that though strong persuasions had been used to move the jury to bring him in guilty, yet he so far prevailed, that at length he was set at liberty again : though I find that once he was whipped for a crime laid to his charge, of which he gloried publicly. And when Cromwell had usurped the supreme power Lilburne made bold to charge him, both by word of mouth, and by writing, with falseness and tyranny ; and he went on at that rate, that Cromwell, foreseeing that if this man continued thus to expose his doings, he should not be able to maintain his credit and authority, ordered him to be taken into custody, and impeached of high treason. When Lilburn, thus accused, appeared at the bar, he behaved himself with that un-

dauntedness, and so defended his cause, that he seemed less to plead for his life, than for the freedom of his country; and, boldly answering what was objected to him, said that what he had done was not only no high treason; but the government was such, that no high treason could be committed against it; and that therefore all true Englishmen were obliged to oppose the tyranny that was exercised. He also said, that having been once in favour with Cromwell, he might have attained to great preferment, if he would have been quiet; but that he having thought this unlawful, it was now resolved to have his life taken away; which he did not fear, because he asserted a good cause. Thus vigorously Lilburn pleaded, and he defended his cause with such strong arguments, that the jury brought him in not guilty, notwithstanding the endeavours of the judges to the contrary.

Now, though according to law, he must have been set at liberty, yet Cromwell would not consent to it, but kept him prisoner; and because he indeed feared him, as one that would weaken his government, he ordered him to be carried from one prison to another: till at length he came to be confined in the castle of Dover, in which town lived Luke Howard, mentioned before; who thereby having occasion to speak with Lilburn concerning religion, gave him such convincing reasons for his professions, as prevailed upon Lilburn to receive the truth; as he himself signified in a letter he wrote to his wife; who having visited him in prison, afterwards wrote to him this following exhortation:

‘ My dear,

‘ Retain a sober patient spirit within thee, which I am confident thou shalt see shall be of more force to recover thee, than all thy keen metal hath been. I hope God is doing a work upon thee and me too, as shall make us study ourselves more than we have done.’

These words were so acceptable to Lilburn, that repeating them in his letter to her, he answered thus, after many other passages.

‘ O, my dear love!

‘ I am deeply already entered into my part of it: the mighty power of God enable thee to get in too, and also to go through thine, and effectually to go cheerfully and willingly along hand in hand with me, which would render thee abundantly more amiable, lovely, and pleasant in mine eyes, although thou wert then clothed in rags, than thou couldst be to me in thy drawing back, or standing still where thou wast when I last saw thee, though therein thou wert clothed all over with rich and outwardly glistering earthly diamonds, and in the greatest of earthly prosperity.

I am sorry thou art so straitly put to it for money ; but to live upon God by faith, in the depth of straits, is the lively condition of a Christian. O that thy spirit could attain unto this, according to thy desire in thy letter, and my own present frame of spirit !——I now can contentedly feed savourily upon bread and cheese, and small beer alone, for saving of money. And for my liberty, about which thou so weariest and spendest thyself, as thy letter acquaints me thou dost, I can say to thee, that I am in my present temper of spirit, ready really with Peter, at the sight of the glorious transfiguration of Christ, to say, it is good being here. For here in Dover Castle, through the loving-kindness of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God, and myself, and his gracious outgoings to my soul, than ever I had in all my lifetime, not excepting my glorying and rejoicing condition under the bishops.——And now submissively and heartily I can say, the will of my heavenly Father be done in me, by me, and for me ; in whose will I leave thee and thine, with all thy and my friends, and rest

Thine in the strength of
renewedness of true love,

John Lilburn.'

' From Dover Castle, the place of the present enjoyed delightful dispensations of the eternal, everlasting love of God unto my soul : the 4th of the tenth month, 1655.'

Whilst Lilburn was prisoner here, Cromwell, as it seemed, would have released him, if he would have signed a declaration that he would never draw a sword against his government. But Lilburn as yet not being fully convinced, that to refrain the use of the carnal sword, was the duty of a true Christian, refused ; thinking that though G. Fox had signed such a declaration, yet this did not become him, because he did not perfectly approve that point of self-denial. But however, continuing in faithfulness to persevere in respect of that knowledge he had already attained to, he became, in process of time, such an asserter of the true Christian life, that in a paper, which at his desire was given out in print, he expressed himself thus :

' I have now the faithful and true witness in my own soul, that the Lord himself is become, within me, the teacher of my soul, and enabler of me to walk in a measure of his pure ways and paths ; yea, and so clear a teacher within me is he already become unto me, as that I with confidence believe my inward

teacher shall never now more be removed into a corner; but is, and shall be, as a continual voice speaking in my ears, "This is the way, walk in it:" by which divine teaching, I am now daily taught to die to sin, and led up by it into living power, to be raised up, and enabled to live in a pure measure of righteousness; and by which inward spiritual teachings, I am, I say again, led up into power in Christ, by which I particularly can, and do hereby witness, that I am already dead, or crucified to the very occasions, and real grounds of outward wars, and carnal sword-fightings, and fleshly bustlings and contests; and that therefore confidently I now believe, I shall never hereafter be a user of a temporal sword more, nor a joiner with those that so do. And this I do here solemnly declare, not in the least to avoid persecution, or for any politic ends of my own, or in the least for the satisfaction of the fleshly wills of any of my great adversaries, or for satisfying the carnal will of my poor weak afflicted wife; but by the special movings and compulsions of God now upon my soul, am I in truth and righteousness compelled thus to declare; that so I may take away from my adversaries, all their fig-leaf covers, or pretences, for their continuing of my every way unjust bonds. And that thereby, if yet I must be an imprisoned sufferer, it may from this day forward, be for the truth as it is in Jesus; which truth I witness to be truly professed and practised by the savouriest of people called Quakers.

'And to this my present declaration, which I exceedingly long and earnestly desire to have in print, and for which I know that I can cheerfully and assuredly lay down my life, if I be called to witness the truth of it, I subscribe my name,

'John Lilburn.'

'From my innocent and every way causeless captivity in Dover Castle, the place of my soul's delightful and contentful abode, where I have really and substantially found that which my soul many years hath sought diligently after, and with unsatisfied longingness thirsted to enjoy: this present first-day of the week, being the 4th of the third month, 1655.'

It sufficiently appears by this, that Lilburn did not think that this declaration would procure his liberty; and he guessed not wrong; for before he was released, Cromwell died. Lilburn being then discharged from his confinement, continued steadfast to the doctrine of the truth he had embraced, and died at London in the year 1660. But being advanced in the time, I go therefore back a little, and intend in the sequel to give a more circumstantial description of Cromwell's death.

And thus I conclude this book with the year 1655, in

which year there was a plot of the royalists against Cromwell; and in Nottinghamshire they had already surprised some places; and towards the west the city of Salisbury. The young king (Charles) was now come from Cologne into Zealand, to be the nearer if the attempt succeeded. But his time of ruling was not yet come; for the cavaliers were soon forced to give way to the power of Cromwell: and the design being thus quashed, king Charles returned to Cologne. In the meanwhile, Cromwell, to raise his esteem abroad, sent a fleet, under admiral Penn, to the West Indies, and another, under the command of admiral Blake, towards the Mediterranean sea.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

NEAR the beginning of the year 1656, G. Fox went from London to Surry, Chichester, Portsmouth, and Pool; where William Baily, a Baptist teacher, and some others were convinced by G. Fox's ministry, and entered into the society of those called Quakers; among whom, Baily afterwards became an eminent minister. From Pool, G. Fox went to Southampton and Dorchester, where he desired of the Baptists to have their meeting-house to meet in; but they refusing, he sent them word, that they might come to his inn, if they pleased. Many of them came, with their teacher, and they fell into a discourse about water-baptism. G. Fox asked them, whether they could say they were sent of God to baptize people, as John was; and whether they had the same Spirit and power that the apostles had. They said they had not. Then he asked them, how many powers there are. Whether there are any more than the power of God, and the power of the devil; and they said, there was not any power than those two. Then said G. Fox, 'If you have not the power of God, that the apostles had, then you act by the power of the devil.' And his speaking was of such effect, that many substantial people were convinced that night. Next morning when he was passing away, the Baptists began to shake the dust from off their feet after him. 'What,' said he, 'in the power of darkness! We who are in the power of God, shake off the dust of our feet against you.'

Leaving Dorchester, he came to Weymouth, where enquiring after the sober people, about fourscore of them gathered together at a priest's house; and most of them were turned to Christ Jesus, who had enlightened them with his divine light, by which they were reprov'd of their sins. There was at that time a captain of horse in the town, who rode about seven miles out of town with G. Fox. This captain was of such a merry temper, and so exceedingly given to laughter, that G. Fox several times spoke very seriously to him about it; but it was become so cus-

tomary to him, that he would laugh almost at any thing he saw. But G. Fox still admonished him to gravity, and the fear of the Lord; and of this he spoke to him again when they parted. The next time G. Fox saw him, the captain told him, that when he spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him, that before he got home, he was serious enough, and had left his laughing. He indeed became a serious and good man; and being convinced of the truth, died in the real profession thereof.

For brevity's sake, I do not intend to mention all the places G. Fox passed through, much less all his occurrences. At Kingsbridge he had good service; and returning in the evening to his inn, and there being many people drinking, he was moved to go amongst them, and to direct them to the light which Christ, the heavenly man, had enlightened them withal: by which light they might see all their evil ways, words, and deeds; and by the same light they might also see Christ Jesus their Saviour. But this discourse did not please the innkeeper, seeing it hindered his guests from drinking: and hearing G. Fox speak so much of the light, he snatched away the candle, and said, 'Come, here is light for you to go into your chamber.'

The next day G. Fox went to Plymouth, and from thence to Cornwall; and travelling through the country, he came to Market-Jew (Marazion). Being there at an inn, he met with some trouble from the magistrates: and he wrote a paper, to show, that the Lord was come to teach his people himself, by Jesus Christ, &c. This paper came accidentally to the hands of Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and also a justice of peace at Ives, whither G. Fox came. Here Edward Pyot and William Salt, who were G. Fox's fellow-travellers, were haled before the said major, whilst G. Fox was walking down to the sea-side: but he hearing this, followed them, and came also into the justice's house, where the aforesaid paper being produced, it was asked him, whether he would own it: and he said, 'Yes.' Then the major tendered them the oath of abjuration, G. Fox thereupon putting his hand in his pocket, drew forth the answer to it, which had been given to the protector. A priest being present there, found fault with his hair, which then was pretty long, and asked to have cut it; but G. Fox told him, he had no pride in it. It happened also at other times, that because of his long hair he was spoken to, as I have seen myself; but of this I am fully persuaded, that he had not the least pride in it; but it seems to me not improbable, that he, seeing how some would make it a kind of holiness to wear short hair, did the contrary, to show that in some things there was a Christian liberty, for which we ought not to judge one another. But to proceed, G. Fox and

his companions were taken into custody, and with a guard of horse sent to prison with this mittimus.

‘ Peter Ceely, one of the justices of the peace of this county, to the keeper of his highness’s gaol at Launceston, or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting.

‘ I send you herewithal by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Edward Pyot of Bristol, and George Fox of Drayton and Clea, in Leicestershire, and William Salt of London, which they pretend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers, and acknowledge themselves to be such ; who have spread several papers, tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and cannot render any lawful cause of coming into these parts, being persons altogether unknown, and having no pass for their travelling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties of their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided, and refuse to take the oath of abjuration, &c. These are, therefore, in the name of his highness the lord protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in his highness’s prison aforesaid you safely keep them, until by due course of law they shall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and seal, at St. Ives, the 18th day of January, 1656.

‘ P. Ceely.’

By this mittimus it appears under what odd pretences the Quakers, so called, were committed to prison ; for such reasons as are mentioned therein, might be found and picked up at any time. Thus G. Fox and his companions were carried through Redruth, Falmouth, and Bodmin, to Launceston. By the way they suffered great insolences, both from the soldiers that conducted them, and from others, by the connivance of captain Keat ; but I will not detain my reader with all those particulars. Being come to Launceston, Keat delivered the prisoners to the gaoler. And though many were greatly enraged against them, and expected that these prisoners, who thou’d and thee’d all, and did not put off their hats to any man, should at the assizes be condemned to be hanged if they did not pay that respect to the bench ; yet there were many friendly people, out of several parts of the country, that came to visit them ; for it was about nine weeks from the time of their commitment to the assizes ; by reason of which several got opportunity to speak with them,

which had that good effect, that many were convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by them.

At the time of the assizes, abundance of people came from far and near, to hear the trial of the Quakers; who being guarded by the soldiers and the sheriff's men to the court, had much ado to get through the multitude that filled the streets: besides the doors and windows were filled with people looking out upon them. Being brought into the court, G. Fox after all was quiet, said, 'Peace be amongst you.' The judge, (Glyn,) who was then chief justice of England, said to the gaoler, 'What be these you have brought here into court?' 'Prisoners, my lord,' said he, 'Why do you not put off your hats?' said the judge to them. They saying nothing; 'Put off your hats,' said the judge again: and they still continuing silent, the judge said, 'The court commands you to put off your hats.' Then G. Fox began to speak, and said, 'Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews (the people of God) or amongst the heathen? And if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law either written or printed.' The judge, then growing angry, said, 'I do not carry my law books on my back.' 'But,' said G. Fox, 'where is it printed in any statute-book, that I may read it?' At this the judge said, 'Take him away, prevaricator! I'll ferk him.' Then the prisoners were taken away, and put among the thieves. But presently after the judge called to the gaoler, 'Bring them up again.' This being done, 'Come,' said he, 'where had they hats from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me; I have you fast now.' To this G. Fox replied, 'Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace, by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on.' This plain instance stopped him; so that not having any thing else to say, he cried again, 'Take them away, gaoler.' Accordingly they were taken away, and being thrust among the thieves, they were kept there a great while, and at length carried again to prison: but in the afternoon they were brought up again into the court.

G. Fox seeing the jurymen there, gave them a paper which he had written against swearing. This paper passing from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the judge; and he bid the clerk give G. Fox that paper, and then asked him whether that seditious paper was his: to which he said if they would read it in open court, that he might hear it, if it was his, he would own it, and stand by it. The judge would have G. Fox to have taken it, and looked upon it in his own hand. But he desired again that it might be read, that all in the court might hear it, and judge whether there was any sedition in it, or no: for if there were, he

was willing to suffer for it. At length the clerk of the assizes read it with an audible voice ; and when he had done, G. Fox said it was his paper, and he would own it ; and so might they too, except they would deny the Scripture ; for was it not Scripture language, and the words and commands of Christ and the apostles, which all true Christians ought to obey ? Then they let fall that subject, and the judge speaking again about the hats of the prisoners, bid the gaoler take them off. Then they asked what they had lain in prison for these nine weeks, seeing now nothing was objected against them, but what concerned their hats : ‘ And,’ said G. Fox, ‘ as for putting off our hats, that was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much ado about it : the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, is the mark of unbelievers : for “ How can ye believe,” saith Christ, “ who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only ? ” And Christ saith also, “ I receive not honour from men.” And all true Christians should be of his mind.’ Then the judge made a speech, how he represented the lord protector’s person ; and how he had made him lord chief justice of England, and sent him to come that circuit, &c. Thereupon the prisoners desired him, that he would do them justice for their false imprisonment, which they had suffered nine weeks. But instead thereof, an indictment was read against them, but so full of untruths, that G. Fox thought it had been against some of the thieves ; for it contained, that they came by force and arms, and in a hostile manner into the court ; whereas they were brought there as prisoners ; which made him say it was all false. And still they cried for justice for their false imprisonment, being taken up in their journey without cause, by major Ceely. Then this Peter Ceely, who as a justice of peace sat also on the bench, said to the judge, ‘ May it please you, my lord, this man (pointing to G. Fox) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design ; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour’s warning, and involve the nation in blood, and so bring in king Charles ; and I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. And if it please you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it.’ And so he called upon his witness, who, without question, was one that was bribed. But the judge, perceiving this palpable lie, was not forward to examine the witness : then G. Fox desired the judge that he would be pleased to let his mittimus be read, in which the pretended crime was signified, for which he was committed to prison. But the judge said it should not be read : G. Fox still insisting to have it read, said, ‘ It ought to be : for if I have done any thing worthy of death, or of bonds, let all the country know it.’ Seeing then they would not read it, he said to one of his fellow-prisoners,

‘Thou hast a copy of it; read it up.’ ‘It shall not be read,’ said the judge; ‘gaoler, take him away; I will see whether he or I shall be master.’

Then G. Fox was taken away, and awhile after called for again. He still cried to have the mittimus read; and the people being eager to hear it, he bid his fellow-prisoner to read it up: which being done, and read according to the copy already mentioned, G. Fox said to the judge and justices, ‘Thou that sayest, thou art chief justice of England, and you that be justices, ye know, that if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whither I pleased, and have carried on the design, if I had had one, which major Ceely hath charged me with. And if I had spoken these words to him, which he hath here declared, then judge ye, whether bail or mainprise could have been taken in that case.’ Then directing his speech to major Ceely, he said, ‘When or where did I take thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of them at our examination, so that I asked for a constable, or other officer to keep the people civil? But if thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench? That is not a place for thee to sit in; for accusers do not use to sit with the judges: thou oughtest to come down, and stand by me, and look me in the face. Besides, I would ask the judge and justices this question, whether or no major Ceely is not guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath done? Doth he understand his place, either as a soldier or a justice of the peace? For he tells you here, that I went aside with him, and told him what a design I had in hand; and how serviceable he might be for it: that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour’s time, and bring in king Charles, and involve the nation in blood. Moreover, that he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for the good behaviour, as the mittimus declares. Now do not ye see plainly, that major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason that he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it, by desiring me to go out of the country, and demanding bail of me; and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his devilish design.’

The judge by this seeing clearly that Ceely, instead of ensnaring G. Fox, had ensnared himself, let fall that business. But then Ceely got up again, and said to the judge, ‘If it please you, my lord, to hear me: this man struck me, and gave me such a blow, as I never had in my life.’ G. Fox smiling at this, said, ‘Major Ceely, art thou a justice of peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tells the judge here in the face of the court and country, that I, who am a prisoner, struck thee; and gave

thee such a blow, as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, major Ceely, where did I strike thee; and who is thy witness for that? Who was by? To this Ceely said it was in the castle-green, and that captain Bradden was standing by when G. Fox struck him; who then desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that: and he called again upon Ceely, to come down from off the bench: telling him that it was not fit that the accuser should sit as judge over the accused. Ceely then said, captain Bradden was his witness: which made G. Fox say to captain Bradden, who was present there, 'Didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him as he saith?' Bradden made no answer, but bowed his head. G. Fox then desired him to speak up, if he knew any such thing; but he only bowed his head again. 'Nay,' said G. Fox, 'speak up, and let the court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me. I fear not sufferings, nor death itself; for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge.' But Bradden would not testify to it. And the judge, finding those snares would not hold, cried, 'Take him away, gaoler;' and fined the prisoners twenty marks a piece, for not putting off their hats, and to be kept in prison till they paid the fine: and so they were brought back to gaol again.

At night captain Bradden came with seven or eight justices to see them; and they being very civil, said, they did not believe that either the judge, or any in the court, believed those charges which major Ceely had made upon G. Fox. And Bradden said, major Ceely had an intent to have taken away G. Fox's life, if he could have got another witness. 'But,' said G. Fox, 'captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeing major Ceely produced thee for a witness, that thou sawest me strike him? And when I desired thee to speak either for me, or against me, according to what thou sawest or knewest, thou wouldst not speak.' 'Why,' said he, 'when major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the castle-green, he put off his hat to you, and said, How do you do, Mr. Fox? Your servant, sir. Then you said to him, Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy, and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy master, or thou my servant? Do servants use to cast their masters into prison? This was the great blow he meant that you gave him.' G. Fox hearing this, called to mind, that they walking by, Ceely had spoken the aforesaid words, and that he himself indeed made such an answer, as is mentioned; and he thought he said nothing amiss, since Ceely so openly, had manifested his hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and would have made all believe,

that G. Fox gave him a stroke outwardly with his hand. A report of this trial being spread abroad, divers people, of whom some were of account in the world, came far and near to see him and his friends in prison, which tended to the conviction of some.

Being settled in prison upon such a commitment, that they were not likely to be soon released, they forebore giving the gaoler seven shillings a week a piece for themselves, and as much for their horses, which he had in a manner extorted from them : but upon this he grew so very wicked, that he turned them down into a nasty stinking place, where they used to put persons condemned for witchcraft and murder. This place was so noisome, that it was observed few who went into it, did ever come out again in health : for there was no house of office in it, and the filth of the prisoners that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out for many years ; so that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the shoes ; and the gaoler would not suffer them to cleanse it, nor let them have beds or straw to lie on. At night some friendly people of the town brought them a candle, and a little straw ; of which they were about to burn a little to take away the stink. The thieves lay over their heads, and the head gaoler in a room by them, over their heads also. But it seems the smoke went up into the room where he lay, which put him into such a rage, that he took the vessels of the thieves' filth, and poured them down through a hole upon their heads ; whereby they were so bespattered, that it was loathsome to touch themselves, or one another ; besides, the stink so increased, that by it, and the smoke, they were almost in danger of being suffocated. And all this could not satisfy the rage of this cruel gaoler, but he railed against them so hideously, and called them such horrible nicknames, that they never had heard the like before. In this manner they were forced to stand all night, for they could not sit down, the place being so filthy. Thus he kept them a great while, before he would let them cleanse it, or suffer them to have any victuals brought in, but what they got through the grate. And even this could not be done without difficulty ; for a lass one time having brought them a little meat, he sued her in the town-court for breaking the prison ; perhaps, because she had a little bent a half-broken bar of the grate, to get a small dish through it. That this gaoler was so desperately wicked, is not so much to be wondered at, since (as they were informed) he had been a thief, and was on that account burnt both in the hand and on the shoulder ; and the under gaoler in like manner : their wives had also been burnt in the hand. It was not at all strange then, that the prisoners suffered most grievously from such a wicked crew ; but it was more to be wondered at that colonel Bennet, a Baptist teacher,

having purchased the gaol and lands belonging to the castle, had there placed this head gaoler.

It was much talked of, that spirits haunted this dungeon, and walked there, and that many had died in it; some thinking to terrify the prisoners therewith. But G. Fox told them, that if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, he was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing; for Christ, their priest, would sanctify the walls and the house to them; he who bruised the head of the devil; as the priest was to cleanse the plague out of the walls of the house under the law.

Now the time of the sessions at Bodmin being come, the prisoners drew up their suffering case, and sent the paper thither; upon reading of which, the justices gave order, that the door of Doomsdale (thus the dungeon was called) should be opened, and that they should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy their meat in the town. Having obtained this liberty, they wrote to London, and desired Anne Downer, a young woman already mentioned in this work, to come down, and to buy and dress their meat: which she being very willing to do, was therein greatly serviceable to them; for she was a good writer, and could take things in short-hand. They also sent up a relation of their sufferings to the protector; who thereupon sent down an order to the governor of Pendennis Castle, to examine the matter. On which occasion Hugh Peters, one of the protector's chaplains, told him they could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there. This was not altogether untrue, for he was much visited, and many were turned from darkness to the light; notwithstanding the mayor of Launceston was a fierce persecutor, casting in prison all he could get; and he did not stick to search substantial grave women, for letters, as supposed.

In Devonshire it was not much better; for many of those called Quakers, that travelled through the country, were taken up and whipped, under pretence of being vagabonds: nay, some clothiers, that were going to mill with their cloth, and other substantial men, were seized and whipped; and Henry Pollexfen, who had been a justice of peace for the most part of forty years before, was cast into prison, under pretence of being a Jesuit.

In the meanwhile Edward Pyot, who had been a captain, and was a man of good understanding in the laws and rights of the nation, wrote a large letter to the lord chief justice John Glyn, wherein he plainly set before him his unlawful dealings; and queried with him, whether his saying, 'If ye will be uncovered (or put off your hats) I will hear you, and do you justice,' was not an overthrow of the laws, that were made to maintain right and justice. Many other particulars (and among the rest that of G. Fox's striking major Ceely) were also mentioned in this letter.

G. Fox himself wrote also several papers, wherein the odiousness of persecution was plainly set forth.

Among those that came to visit him was Thomas Lower, a doctor of physic at London; who, whilst I am writing this, is yet alive: and he, asking many questions concerning religious matters, received such satisfactory answers from G. Fox, that he afterwards said his words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him; and that he never met with such wise men in his life, &c. Thus he came to be convinced of the truth, and so entered into the communion of the despised Quakers. While G. Fox was still in prison, one of his friends went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself body for body, to lie in Doomsdale prison in his stead, if he would take him, and let G. Fox go at liberty. But Cromwell said he could not do it, for it was contrary to law; and turning to those of his council, 'Which of you,' quoth he, 'would do so much for me, if I were in the same condition?'

Thus G. Fox continued in prison, and it was yet a good while before he and his fellow-prisoners were released. The next year the wicked gaoler received a recompense of his deeds; for he was turned out of his place, and for some wicked act was cast into gaol himself; and there his carriage was so unruly, that he was by the succeeding gaoler put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, and beaten, and bid to remember how he had abused those good men, whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty dungeon; but that now he deservedly should suffer for his wickedness; and the same measure he had meted to others, he should have meted out to himself: and this mischievous fellow, who might have grown rich if he had carried himself civilly, grew now very poor, and so died in prison.

About the same time that G. Fox was released, Cromwell called a parliament, which met for the first sitting, in the painted chamber at Westminster, on the 17th of the month called September. Samuel Fisher got an opportunity to come into this assembly, where he heard the protector's speech, and in it these words, 'that he knew not of any one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in all England.' And after he had got the conveniency of a standing, he said that he had a word to speak from the Lord to the protector, to the parliament, and the people, and then he began thus:

'The burden of the word of the Lord God of heaven and of earth, as it came unto me on the 22d day of the last month, and as it now lieth upon me to declare it in his name, even unto thee, Oliver Cromwell, protector (so called) of these three nations, England, Scotland, and Ireland; and also to all you who are chosen out of the several parts thereof to sit in parliament this day, to consider of such things as concern the commonwealth

thereof; and likewise to the three nations themselves, and all the people thereof, whose rulers and representatives ye are: which word of the Lord, as ye do not deem yourselves too high, or too great, or too good, to be spoken to from the Lord; and as you will not fall under the guilt of that sin of saying to the seers, see not, and to the prophets, prophesy not, prophesy not unto us right things, prophesy smooth things, prophesy deceits; I charge you all, in the name of the living God, that without interruption or opposition, whether you like it, or like it not, you stand still and hear it: and when I have done, you may do with me as the Lord shall give you leave, or leave me under the power of your hands to do; no law of equity condemning any man before he be heard, especially when he speaks on so high an account as from the God of heaven himself, though to such as are no less than gods under him here on earth.'

Scarce had he spoken thus much, but some cried, 'A Quaker, a Quaker; keep him down, he shall not speak:' yet the protector and parliament-men were still and quiet. But some others, among whom two justices of peace, had not so much patience; but Fisher, as he related afterwards, believed that the protector and the parliament-men would have given him audience, had not others set him at nought: some saying the protector had spoken long, and was very hot and weary; and that he (Fisher) might be ashamed to occasion his stay any longer. Thus Fisher was interrupted, and the protector and parliament-men rising, went away; though Fisher did not question but the protector would have heard him: for his moderation in hearing what was said, having been experienced before, Fisher was willing to acknowledge his nobility as freely as Paul took notice of the like in Festus; whom he held most noble in that he would hear him, though he thought him mad. Fisher being thus prohibited, published his speech in print, so as he intended to have delivered it, though not one syllable of it was written before. It was pretty long, and contained a sharp reproof to the hypocrisy of those, who under a show of godliness made long prayers, kept fasts, and nevertheless lived in pride, pomp, and luxury, persecuting those who really were a pious people. And to the protector he said, that unless he took away the wicked from before him, and all flattering false accusers, his throne would never be established in righteousness. In the introduction placed before this speech, he said that before this burden came upon him, he had prayed God that he might have been excused of this message, thinking that a more unworthy one than himself could not have been singled out; but whatever he did, he could not be rid of it; and though he spent a whole week with fasting, tears, and supplication, yet during the time of that abstinence, he felt a daily supply and refreshment to his spirits, so that he fully resigned to do what he believed was

required of him from the Lord ; and he felt all fears of the frowns of men removed from him. Some other speeches which he intended to have made to the parliament, but was obstructed therein, he also published afterwards in print.

In the latter part of this year it happened that Humphry Smith coming to Evesham in Worcestershire, was disturbed in a meeting by the mayor, Edward Young, who said he would break the Quakers' meetings, or else his bones should lie in the dirt. Thus resolved, he came in the month called October, on a first-day of the week in the morning, into their meeting, in a house where H. Smith was ; and several persons after being rudely abused, were haled out to prison. In the afternoon a meeting being kept in the street, some of the company were by order of the said mayor put into the stocks, and others, of which the aforesaid Smith was one, into a dark dungeon : and though the mayor then said it was an unlawful assembly, but if they would meet in houses he would not molest them ; yet on next first-day of the week, he seeing one going to a meeting that was appointed in a house, put him in prison. H. Smith and his friends, had some bedding and bed-clothes sent them, but the mayor caused it to be taken away from them ; and when afterwards some straw was brought them to lie upon, the gaoler would not suffer it ; nay, when one came, and asked liberty to fetch out their ordure from them, the mayor denied it, and ordered him to be put in the stocks. The place where they were kept, was not twelve foot square, and the hole to take in air, was but four inches wide, so that even by daylight they were fain to burn candle, when they had it. Here they were kept above fourteen weeks, with their ordure in the same room ; so that one of them grew sick of the stink ; and yet the gaoler said, if they had been there for theft or murder, he could have let them have more liberty, than now he durst, because of the mayor. James Wall, one of the prisoners, was a freeman of the town, and a shopkeeper, and yet the mayor forbade his wife to stand in the market-place, which for many years she had done. She going to him about it, he began to fawn upon her, and said : ' I hear that your husband doth abuse you.' To which she answered, ' My husband did never abuse me ; but as for that judgment which he now holdeth, once I could not own it ; but now seeing it is so much persecuted, makes me own it, because the way of God was always persecuted.' He hearing her speak so, said, she should not have a standing place for five pounds.

About a month after, Margaret Newby and Elizabeth Courton came to this town, and had a meeting at the house of one Edward Pitwayes : but coming in the afternoon to visit the prisoners, the mayor himself laid violent hands on them, and caused them to be put in the stocks, with their legs near a yard one from another ; and he would not suffer them to have a block to sit on, though

they desired it ; yet as one that would seem to have some modesty, he bid the constable fetch a block, and put between their legs, uttering indecent expressions : in this posture they were kept for the space of fifteen hours, and then, in a freezing night, sent out of the town, without suffering them to go to any place to refresh themselves. And as to Humphry Smith, and those with him, they were yet kept a good while in prison.

In this year Alexander Parker was at Radnor in Wales, and bearing there a testimony against the priest Vavasor Powel, he also preached the doctrine of Truth, as occasion offered. It was, I think, about this time, that Ambrose Rigg and Thomas Robinson came to Exeter, from thence to Bristol, and afterwards to Basingstoke in Hampshire. Here, after much trouble, they got a meeting appointed ; but before all the people were assembled, the chief priest, with the magistrates came thither, and causing them to be taken away, tendered them the oath of abjuration. But they denying to swear for conscience-sake, were committed to prison : and the gaoler nailed planks before the window, to deprive them of the light ; neither would he suffer them to have a candle at night. Here they were kept about a quarter of a year ; having nothing to lie on but some straw. But this their suffering had such effect, that some of the inhabitants seeing these unreasonable dealings, began to enquire into the doctrine held forth by the sufferers, and so came to be convinced of the truth thereof. They at last being released, Robinson went to Portsmouth, where he preached repentance. Some time after, A. Rigg came also thither, and reaped what Robinson in some respect had sowed ; though it was not long before he was sent out of town. But returning within a short time, he found opportunity to have a meeting there : and by his preaching some were convinced, and embraced his doctrine.

From thence he went to the Isle of Wight, where some also received the doctrine maintained by him. After some stay, he returned to Sussex, where he had great service. And travelling up and down the country, he came to Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis, where speaking in the steeple-house against the priest, he was seized and locked up in a nasty dungeon where there was nothing to lie on but some filthy straw, and a stone to sit on : there was also no house of office ; but on the ground lay a heap of dung, where he also was forced to ease himself. But there being an opening at the top of the room, he could see people go along the streets, and thus took occasion from this subterranean cave, to preach to the passengers with such power and efficacy, that his doctrine entered into the hearts of his hearers, and stuck there. This manner of preaching often hath been in England, and I myself, in my young years, have been an eye-witness of it ; and have heard the prisoners lift up their voice so, that it could

be heard very easily in the streets ; which made people that passed by, stand still, and hearken to what was spoken by such zealous preachers. And though these were often hindered of having meetings, yet it was impossible to stop up the fountain from whence their words flowed. Thus it was also with A. Rigg, who, after an imprisonment of eleven weeks, being set at liberty, travelled up and down again ; but in many places where he came, a prison was his lot ; sometimes even when nothing could be laid to his charge, but that he was gone from his dwelling-place : for the parliament had made a law, that all who were gone from home, and could not give a satisfactory account of their business, should be taken up as vagabonds. Under this pretence, many who travelled to the markets with their goods, were seized by the way ; for if it did but appear that such a one was a Quaker, which was presently seen by his not putting off his hat, then there wanted no pretended reason to clap him up in prison.

A. Rigg travelling on, came also to visit some of his friends in prison at Southampton. This was taken so ill, that the mayor, Peter Seal, without examining, caused him to be fastened to the whipping-post in the market-place, where he was severely lashed by the executioner, and then put into a cart and sent out of the town, in freezing snowy weather ; the mayor threatening him, that if ever he returned he should be whipped again, and burnt in the shoulder with an R, signifying rogue. Notwithstanding this, he was moved to return, and the mayor was very eager to have this executed on him ; but the other magistrates would not consent ; and not long after the mayor died of a bloody-flux. This relation hath carried me a little beyond the course of time. But now I leave A. Rigg for a while, intending to make further mention of him hereafter.

In this year William Caton went again into Scotland, from whence returning, he travelled to Bristol, thence to Plymouth, and so to London : from whence he made a voyage again to Holland, where William Ames and John Stubbs had been, and also found some among the English people at Amsterdam, who had received the doctrine they preached, though afterwards they turned from it again. W. Ames found also some reception among the Baptists there, who at first were pleased with him, but J. Stubbs did not please them so well ; as Dr. Galenus Abrahams once told me, who compared Ames to a musician that played a very melodious tune, and Stubbs to a disturber of the harmonious music ; though Ames afterwards, for his great zeal, was found fault with also.

W. Caton now arrived at Dort, and from thence repaired to Rotterdam, where for want of an interpreter that understood English he was fain to make use of the Latin. But it grieved him exceedingly to meet with some unruly spirits there, that hav-

ing been in some measure convinced by W. Ames, ran out, under the denomination of Quakers, into extremes, both in words and writings. Some of these persons I know, and have seen also some of the books they published in print, in which, under a pretence of plainness, not one capital letter was to be found, even not to proper names, nay, not to names of authors themselves. And since they ran out into several other extravagancies, it was not much to be wondered, that the magistrates clapt them up in Bedlam. The ring-leader of these people, was one Isaac Furnier, who formerly (as I have heard my uncle tell, who had seen it himself) lived as another Diogenes, using, at the fire, instead of a pair of tongs, a split stick; and now conversing among the Quakers, so called, made it a piece of holiness to use the most blunt language he could think of; how absurd and irregular soever. In fine, he so behaved himself, that the orthodox Quakers rejected his society. He it was, as I have understood, who was the author of that ridiculous saying, 'My spirit testifieth:' which though not approved nor used by the true Quakers, yet hath been so spread among the people in the Low Countries, that it hath been constantly credited, and is not yet quite disbelieved, that the Quakers used to say so of any thing they intend to; and that if any one, whoever it be, says so, they will give credit to his saying. The abovesaid Dr. Galenus told me, that this man coming to his door, and finding the doctor's name writ on the post of the door, (as is usual in Holland,) did, with his knife, scratch out the letters Dr. signifying doctor. On which the doctor asked him, why he did so? And his answer was, because the spirit did testify so unto him. And being asked further, if so be that spirit did move him to stab the doctor with the knife, whether he would follow that motion, he answered, (if the relation be true,) as the doctor affirmed to me, 'Yes.' But however it be, this is true, that this Furnier was a passionate and giddy-headed man, whom the true Quakers could not own, though he had translated many of their books out of English into Dutch; and would also preach amongst them. But at length he left them, and turning Papist, fell into a dissolute and debauched life.

But to return to W. Caton; coming to Amsterdam, he did not find much more satisfaction there than at Rotterdam; for several high-conceited professors, who seemed to approve the doctrine preached by the Quakers, were more apt to take upon them to teach others, than to receive instruction from others. Wherefore W. Caton did not stay long at Amsterdam, but returned to Rotterdam; and from thence went to Zealand, arriving at Middleburgh, accompanied with a certain young man, who went to some of the meeting-places in that city, and was apprehended; which Caton understanding, went to visit him, and they perceiving that he was his companion, secured him also; and after having been kept

in prison some days, being weak in body, it was ordered that they should be sent to England: and so they were carried in a coach-waggon to the water-side, being conducted by a guard of soldiers, to protect them against the rude multitude, and brought on board a ship of war, where Caton suffered great hardship; for the seamen were so ill-natured, that they would not allow him so much as a piece of sail-cloth, but he was fain to lie upon the bare boards, in very cold and stormy weather. But though thus hardly used, yet he felt his strength increase, and so experienced the mercies of God. It was in November when he arrived at London, where he was kindly received by the brethren: after some stay there, he went to Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent.

Not long before this, G. Fox came to Exeter, where James Nayler was in prison, and spoke to him by way of reproof; which Nayler slighted; though he offered to kiss G. Fox; but he unwilling to suffer this, said, since he had turned against the power of God, he could not receive his show of kindness. It appeared by letters the magistrates found in his pocket at Bristol, that the Quakers found fault with him, and had reproved him of his high-mindedness, before it launched out into that extravagant act which made so great a noise in the world, and hath been mixed with many untruths, and false turns. I have therefore thought it worth while to enquire narrowly into it, in order to give a true relation of matters of fact.

This James Nayler was born of honest parents,* in the parish of Ardesley, near Wakefield in Yorkshire, about the year 1616. He had served in the parliament army, being quarter-master in major-general Lambert's troop in Scotland; was a member of the Independents; and afterwards, in the year 1651, he entered into the communion of the Quakers, so called.† He was a man of excellent natural parts, and at first did acquit himself well, both

* His father was a husbandman, and of good repute, having a competent estate to live on, with industry, according to the manner of the country where he dwelt. He was educated in good English, and wrote well. About the age of twenty-two he married, and then removed into Wakefield parish; where he continued, till the wars broke out in 1641, and then went into the army, and was a soldier eight or nine years, first under the Lord Fairfax, and afterwards quarter-master under major-general Lambert, till disabled by sickness in Scotland he returned home about 1649. J. W.'s account.

† He and Thomas Goodair were convinced by G. Fox, about Wakefield, anno 1651, as were also Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Aldam, William Dewsbury, and wife, about the same time. And in the beginning of the year following, as he was in the field at plough, meditating on the things of God, he heard a voice, bidding him go out from his kindred, and from his father's house; and had a promise given with it, that the Lord would be with him; whereupon he did exceedingly rejoice that he had heard the voice of God, whom he had professed from a child, and endeavoured to serve; and when he went home he made preparation to go; but not being obedient, the wrath of God was upon him, so that he was made a wonder, and it was thought he would have died.

in word and writing among his friends, so that many came to receive the truth by his ministry. He came to London towards the latter end of the year 1654, or beginning of 1655, and found there a meeting of friends, which had already been gathered in that city, by the service of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill; and there he preached in such an eminent manner, that many admiring his great gift, began to esteem him much above his brethren, which as it brought him no benefit, so it gave occasion of some difference in the society; and this ran so high, that some forward and inconsiderate women, of whom Martha Simmons was the chief, assumed the boldness to dispute with F. Howgill and E. Burrough openly in their preaching, and thus to disturb the meetings:* whereupon they, who were truly excellent preachers, did not fail, according to their duty to reprove this indiscretion. But these women were so disgusted, that Martha, and another woman, went and complained to J. Nayler, to incense him against F. Howgill and E. Burrough; but this did not succeed, for he showed himself afraid to pass judgment upon his brethren, as they desired. Hereupon Martha fell into a passion, in a kind of moaning or weeping, and bitterly crying out with a mournful shrill voice, said, 'I looked for judgment, but behold a cry;' and with that cried aloud in a passionate lamenting manner, which so entered and pierced J. Nayler, that it smote him down into so much sorrow and sadness, that he was much dejected in spirit, or disconsolate. Fear and doubting then entered him, so that he came to be clouded in his understanding, bewildered, and at a loss in his judgment, and became estranged from his best friends, because they did not approve his conduct; insomuch, that he began to give ear to the flattering praises of some whimsical people, which he ought to have abhorred, and reproved them for. But his sorrowful fall ought to stand as a warning, even to those that are endued with great gifts, that they do not presume to be exalted, lest they also fall, but endeavour to continue in true humility, in which alone a Christian can be kept safe.

Afterwards being made willing, and going out with a friend, not thinking then of a journey, he was commanded to go into the West, not knowing what he was to do there; but when he came, he had given him what to declare; and so he continued, not knowing one day what he was to do the next; and the promise of God, that he would be with him, he found made good to him every day. Collect. of J. N's writings.

* These women's practice we may suppose to be somewhat like that which gave occasion to the apostle Paul to say, "Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak." 1 Cor. xix. 34. This prohibition of speaking, must be voluntary discourse, by way of reasoning or disputing, and not when they had an immediate impulse, or concern to prophesy; for the apostle in the same epistle, has defined prophecy to be speaking unto "Men to edification, exhortation and comfort," chap. xiv. 3. And has also chap. xi. made express mention of women's praying and prophesying, together with the men,

Hannah Stranger, whom I very well knew, and have reason to believe a woman of high imaginations, at this time wrote to him several very extravagant letters; calling him the everlasting Son of Righteousness, Prince of Peace, the only begotten Son of God, the fairest of ten thousands, &c. In the letters of Jane Woodcock, John Stranger, and others, were expressions of the like extravagancy; and the said Hannah Stranger, Martha Simmons, and Dorcas Erbury, arrived to that height of folly, that, in the prison at Exeter, they kneeled before Nayler, and kissed his feet: but as to what hath been divulged concerning his committing of fornication, I never could find, though very inquisitive in the case, that he was in the least guilty thereof.* But for all that, he was already too much transported, and grew yet more exorbitant; for being released from that prison, and riding to Bristol in the beginning of November, he was accompanied by the aforesaid and other persons; and passing through the suburbs of Bristol, one Thomas Woodcock went bareheaded before him; one of the women led his horse; Dorcas, Martha, and Hannah, spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him, and the company sung, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of hosts, Hosannah in the highest; holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel." Thus these mad people sung, whilst they were walking through the mire and dirt, till they came into Bristol; where they were examined by the magistrates, and committed to prison; and not long after he was carried to London, to be examined by the parliament. How it went there may be seen in the printed trial, which the parliament was pleased to publish.† I believe that J. Nayler was clouded in his understanding in all this transaction; but how grievous soever his fall was, yet it pleased God in his infinite mercy to raise him up again, and to bring him to such sincere repentance that (as we may see in the sequel) he

* 'As to that accusation, as if I had committed adultery with some of those women who came with us from Exeter prison, and also those who were with me at Bristol the night before I suffered there, of both which accusations I am clear before God, who kept me that day both in thought and deed, as to all women as a little child, God is my record.' Collect. of J. Nayler's writings, p 54. See more particularly in his answer to Blome's Fanatick History, in the said Collect. at p. 652.

† But the extravagancy of the sentence which that parliament passed upon him, with other circumstances, give great reason to suspect the account was partially taken, and published to justify their cruelty, which is also set forth in part by way of annotation on the said trial. And (as J. W. says) some of his answers were innocent enough, some not clear, and some aggravated by his adversaries; some of them he denied, some he owned; they reported the worst, and more than was true in some things, adding and diminishing as they were minded; much was wanting of what he had spoken to the committee; wresting and perverting his words what they could, and endeavouring to draw words out of him to ensnare him, and take away his life: and to show their confusion when he was before them, they would have had him to kneel, and put off his hat to them, though a part of the charge against him was, that some kneeled to him.

abhorred not only this whole business, but also manifested his hearty sorrow, in pathetical expressions, which were published, as will be shown in its proper place.

What hath been said of the odd doings in Exeter prison, and of his riding into Bristol, was not denied by him, nor by the rest of the company, when they were examined by a committee of parliament, who made their report on the 5th of December, to which the house agreed next day. On the 16th this business, which had (not without much contradiction; for many members of the parliament did not approve the severity used against him) been treated both forenoons and afternoons, was proposed the twelfth time: which made an ingenious author say afterwards, that it was wondered at by many, what the cause might be, that this foolish business should hold so many wise men so long at work. On the 17th, after a long debate, they came to this resolution:

That James Nayler be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, in the Palace-yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours, on Thursday next, and be whipped by the hangman through the streets, from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewise be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one, on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B; and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into, and through the said city on horse-back, with his face backward, and there also publicly whipped the next market-day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard till he shall be released by parliament; and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labour.

They were long ere they could agree on the sentence; for suppose there was blasphemy committed, yet his tongue seemed not properly guilty of it, since it was not proved that blasphemous words had been spoken by him.* Many thought it to be indeed a very severe judgment to be executed upon one whose

* At Lancaster sessions the priest got some to swear blasphemy against G. Fox, (which was the common accusation in those days,) but he was cleared, and the priests, &c. were enraged, who thereupon sent a petition to the council of state, against G. F. and J. N. who answered the same, in a book called, 'Saul's Errand to Damascus.' After this, J. N. was persecuted in divers places, beaten, stoned, and cruelly used by the priests, and their rude followers, and in danger of his life. Afterward, by the instigation of the priest, he and F. Howgill were

crime seemed to proceed more from a clouded understanding, than any wilful intention of evil.

Now although several persons of different persuasions, being moved with compassion towards Nayler, as a man carried away by foolish imaginations, had offered petitions to the parliament on his behalf, yet it was resolved not to read them, till the sentence was pronounced against him.

There lived then at London, one Robert Rich, a merchant, (a very bold man,) who wrote a letter to the parliament, wherein he showed what was blasphemy; and on the 15th of December, several copies thereof were delivered to particular members; and in that which was given to the speaker, these words were written at the bottom, 'If I may have liberty of those that sit in parliament, I do here attend at their door, and am ready, out of the Scriptures of truth, to show, that not any thing J. Nayler hath said or done, is blasphemy,' &c.

The parliament after judgment was concluded, resolved, that the speaker should be authorized to issue his warrants to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, the sheriff of Bristol, and governor of Bridewell, to see the said judgment put in execution. By some it was questioned whether this was a sufficient warrant, unless the protector concurred in the matter; but he seemed unwilling to meddle with it. The thing being thus far agreed upon, J. Nayler was brought up to the bar; and when the speaker, sir Thomas Widdrington, was about to pronounce the aforementioned sentence, Nayler said he did not know his offence. To which the speaker returned, he should know his offence by his punishment. After sentence was pronounced, though J. Nayler bore the same with great patience, yet it seemed he would have spoken something, but was denied liberty; nevertheless was heard to say, with a composed mind, 'I pray God, he may not lay it to your charge.'

The 18th of December, J. Nayler suffered part of the sentence; and after having stood full two hours with his head in the pillory, was stripped, and whipped at a cart's tail, from Palace-yard to the Old Exchange, and received three hundred and ten stripes; and the executioner would have given him one more, (as he confessed to the sheriff,) there being three hundred and eleven kennels, but his foot slipping, the stroke fell upon his own hand, which hurt him much. All this Nayler bore with so much

committed to Appleby gaol, and tried on an indictment for blasphemy, for saying Christ was in him, according to Col. i. 27. "Christ in you the hope of glory." He was also another time charged with blasphemy, for asserting in a book, 'Justification by the Gift of God's Righteousness,' which he proved from Rom. v. and so stopped their mouths, and cleared himself: by which we may see what that generation, who were righteous in their own eyes, would have made blasphemy. J. Whiting's account.

patience and quietness, that it astonished many of the beholders, though his body was in a most pitiful condition: he was also much hurt with horses treading on his feet, whereon the print of the nails were seen. Rebecca Travers, a grave person, who washed his wounds, in a certificate which was presented to the parliament, and afterwards printed, says, 'There was not the space of a man's nail free from stripes and blood, from his shoulders, near to his waist, his right arm sorely striped, his hands much hurt with cords, that they bled, and were swelled: the blood and wounds of his back did very little appear at first sight, by reason of abundance of dirt that covered them, till it was washed off.' Nay, his punishment was so severe, that some judged his sentence would have been more mild, if it had been present death: and it seemed indeed that there was a party, who not being able to prevail so far in parliament as to have him sentenced to death, yet strove to the utmost of their power to make him sink under the weight of his punishment: for the 20th of December was the time appointed for executing the other part of the sentence, viz. boring through his tongue, and stigmatizing in his forehead; but by reason of the most cruel whipping, he was brought to such a low ebb, that many persons of note, moved with compassion, presented petitions to the parliament on his behalf, who respited his further punishment for one week.

During this interval, several persons presented another petition, in which are these words:

'Your moderation and clemency in respiting the punishment of J. Nayler, in consideration of his illness of body, hath refreshed the hearts of many thousands in these cities, altogether unconcerned in his practice: wherefore we most humbly beg your pardon that are constrained to appear before you in such a suit, (not daring to do otherwise,) that you would remit the remaining part of your sentence against the said J. Nayler, leaving him to the Lord, and to such gospel remedies as he hath sanctified; and we are persuaded you will find such a course of love and forbearance more effectual to reclaim; and will leave a zeal of your love and tenderness upon our spirits.'

'And we shall pray,' &c.

This petition being presented at the bar of the house, by about one hundred persons, on the behalf of the whole, was accordingly read and debated by them; but not being likely to produce the desired effect, the petitioners thought themselves in duty and conscience bound to address the protector, for remitting the remaining part of the sentence; who thereupon sent a letter

to the parliament, which occasioned some debate in the house. But the day for executing the remaining part of the sentence drawing near, the petitioners made a second address to the protector. It was indeed very remarkable, that so many inhabitants that were not of the society of those called Quakers, showed themselves so much concerned in this business; but to me it seems to have proceeded merely from compassion towards the person of J. Nayler; whom they regarded as one that was rather fallen into error, through inconsiderateness, than to have been guilty of wilful blasphemy: for then he would not have deserved so much pity.

But notwithstanding all these humble petitions, the public preachers it seems prevailed so much with Cromwell, that he could not resolve to put a stop to the intended execution; for five of these ministers, whom I find named thus, Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds, came on the 24th of December, by order of the parliament (as it was said) to Nayler, to speak with him concerning the things for which he was detained; and would not permit either friend or other to be present in the room. A certain impartial or neutral person desired it earnestly, but it was denied him; but coming into the prison, after the conference, he asked Nayler what had been the issue of it, who told him, that he told those ministers, that he saw they had an intent to make him suffer (though innocent) as an evil-doer; and therefore they had denied any to be present that might be indifferent judges betwixt them and him; and that therefore he should not say any thing, unless what passed was written down, and a copy thereof given him to keep, or left with the gaoler, signed by them. This was by them consented to, and so they propounded several questions unto him, and took his answers in writing. He further told that they asked him if he was sorry for those blasphemies that he was guilty of, and whether he did recant and renounce the same; to which his answer was, 'What blasphemies, name them?' but they not being able to instance in any particular, he continued: 'Would you have me recant and renounce you know not what?' Then they asked him whether he did believe there was a Jesus Christ? to which he answered, he did believe there was, and that Jesus had taken up his dwelling in his heart and spirit, and for the testimony of Him he now suffered. Then one of the preachers said, 'But I believe in a Jesus that never was in any man's heart:' to which Nayler returned, he knew no such Christ, for the Christ he witnessed filled heaven and earth, and dwelt in the hearts of the believers. Next they demanded of him why he suffered those women to worship and adore him? to which he replied, 'Bowing to the creature I deny; but if they beheld the power of Christ, wherever it is, and bow to it, he had nothing by

which he might resist that, or gainsay it ;'* and withal said to the ministers, ' Have you thus long professed the Scriptures, and do you now stumble at what they hold forth ?' Whereupon they desiring one instance of Scripture wherein such a practice was held forth, he answered, ' What think you of the Shunamite's falling down at the feet of Elisha, and bowing before him ? As also divers others in Scripture spoken of, as that of Abigail to David, and that of Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel : ' upon which they pausing awhile, said at length, ' That was but a civil act or acknowledgment : ' to which he returned, ' So you might interpret the act of those women also, if your eye were not evil, seeing the outward action is one and the same : ' and he perceiving that they were seeking to wrest words from him to their own purpose, said, ' How soon have you forgot the works of the bishops, who are now found in the same, seeking to ensnare the innocent.' Whereupon they rose up, and with bitterness of spirit burnt what they had written before, and so left him with some bemoaning expressions ; and when they were departing, he desired of them that the parliament would send him such questions in writing as they desiring satisfaction to, and give him leave to return his answers in writing also.

By this it seems that Nayler, though still under some cloud, yet was a little more clear in his understanding than before ; but he was encountered by fierce enemies, and therefore the execution of his sentence was not stopped, but performed on the 27th of December. Robert Rich, that forward man, of whom something hath been mentioned already, was this day at the parliament door, from eight in the morning till about eleven, crying variously to the parliament men as they passed by. To one whom he judged to be innocent, he said, " He that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, for God is love : " and to another, whom he thought to be swayed by envy, he said, " He that hates his brother is a manslayer, and he that hates his brother is a murderer." Some then thought that Nayler would not have suffered any further punishment, because many honourable persons had

* The most that I find in his examination, either in Bristol or London, before the committee of parliament, as published from their report, was that he owned Christ in him, but never that he was Christ ; and that he took the honour given, not as to himself, but to Christ in him ; which yet is more than any man ought to receive ; for when the beloved disciple John fell at the angel's feet to worship him, he (though an angel) said unto him, " See thou do it not, I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus, worship God." Rev. xix. 10. And if an angel ought not, surely no mortal man ought to receive or accept it, on any pretence whatsoever ; though falling down or kneeling to one another, is too frequently used by some other people, and if it is not to their person, it must be to their function, quality, or character in the church : but that he received it to himself, as a creature, he utterly denied. Trial, page 15. And that there could not be a more abominable thing, than to take from the Creator, and give to the creature, &c. J. W.

attended the parliament and the protector on his behalf; but Rich knowing how the case stood, told the people that the innocent was going to suffer; and to some of the parliament men he cried, that he was clear from the blood of all men; and that he desired them to be so too. Then he went towards the Exchange, and got on the pillory, held Nayler by the hand while he was burnt in the forehead, and bored through the tongue; and was not a little affected with Nayler's suffering, for he licked his wounds, thereby as it seems to allay the pain; and he led him by the hand from off the pillory. It was very remarkable that notwithstanding there might be many thousands of people, yet they were very quiet, and few heard to revile him, or seen to throw any thing at him: and when he was burning, the people both before and behind him, and on both sides, with one consent stood bareheaded, as seeming generally moved with compassion and good-will towards him.

Many now rejoiced, seeing how some few among the Quakers, as Rich, and the like sort of people, did side with Nayler, whilst the Quakers generally spoke against him and his doings; for those who hoped to see the downfall of them, signified not obscurely, that now things went as they would have, since the Quakers (as they said) were divided among themselves. But time showed that this pretended division soon came to an end, and those diviners and guessers overshot themselves. How it went with the execution of Nayler's sentence at Bristol, I am not informed;* but by a letter of one Richard Snead, an ancient man of about eighty years, I have understood that Nayler had written a letter to the magistrates of Bristol, wherein he had disapproved, and penitently condemned his carriage there.† After this he was brought to Bridewell, London, (as sentenced,) where he continued prisoner about two years, during which confinement he came to a true repentance of his transgression; and having got the use of pen and ink, wrote several books and papers, condemning his error, which were published in print; and after his release, he published several others, one of which, by way of recantation, runs thus:

‘Glory to God Almighty, who ruleth in the heavens, and in

* He was sent to Bristol, and there whipped from the middle of Thomas-street, over the bridge, up High-street, to the middle of Broad-street, all which he bore with wonderful patience, as related by an eye-witness, and then sent by Tower-lane the back way to Newgate, and from thence returned to Bridewell, London, according to the sentence. J. W.

† After he was set at liberty, he went to Bristol, where in a public meeting, he made confession of his offence, as to his former fall, and declared in so powerful a manner, as tendered and broke the meeting into tears, so that there were few dry eyes, (as related by some then present,) and many were bowed in their minds and reconciled to him. J. W.'s account.

whose hands are all the kingdoms of the earth; who raiseth up, and casteth down at his will; who hath ways to confound the exaltation of man, and to chastise his children, and to make man to know himself to be as grass before him; whose judgments are above the highest of men, and his pity reacheth the deepest misery; and the arm of his mercy is underneath, to lift up the prisoner out of the pit, and to save such as trust in him from the great destruction, which vain man, through his folly, brings upon himself; who hath delivered my soul from darkness, and made way for my freedom out of the prison-house, and ransomed me from the great captivity; who divides the sea before him, and removes the mountains out of his way, in the day when he takes upon him to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of him that is too mighty for him in the earth: let his name be exalted for ever, and let all flesh fear before him; whose breath is life to his own, but a consuming fire to the adversary.

‘And to the Lord Jesus Christ be everlasting dominion upon earth, and his kingdom above all the powers of darkness; even that Christ of whom the Scriptures declare, which was, and is, and is to come, the light of the world to all generations; of whose coming I testify with the rest of the children of light, begotten of the immortal seed, whose truth and virtue now shine in the world, unto the righteousness of eternal life, and the Saviour of all that believe therein; who hath been the rock of my salvation, and his Spirit hath given quietness and patience to my soul in deep affliction, even for his name’s sake: praises for ever.

‘But condemned for ever be all those false worships with which any have idolized my person in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above. All their casting of their clothes in the way, their bowings and singings, and all the rest of those wild actions which did any ways tend to dishonour the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the measure of Christ Jesus in themselves, to look at flesh, which is as grass, or to ascribe that to the visible, which belongs to Christ Jesus; all that I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath been any ways blasphemed through me, in the time of temptation; or the spirits of any people grieved, that truly love the Lord Jesus, throughout the whole world, of what sort soever. This offence I confess, which hath been sorrow of heart, that the enemy of man’s peace in Christ, should get this advantage in the night of my trial, to stir up wrath and offences in the creation of God; a thing the simplicity of my heart did not intend, the Lord knows; who in his endless love hath given me power over it, to condemn it. And also that letter which was sent me to Exeter, by John Stranger, when I was in prison, with these words, ‘Thy name shall be no more James Nayler, but Jesus,’ this I judge to be

written from the imaginations ; and a fear struck me when I first saw it, and so I put it in my pocket close, not intending any should see it ; which they finding on me, spread it abroad, which the simplicity of my heart never owned. So this I deny also, that the name of Christ Jesus was received instead of James Nayler, or ascribed to him ; for that name is to the promised seed to all generations ; and he that hath the Son, hath the name, which is life and power, the salvation, and the unction, into which name all the children of light are baptized. So the name of Christ I confess before men, which name to me hath been a strong tower in the night and in the day ; and this is the name of Christ Jesus, which I confess, the Son, and the Lamb, the promised seed, where he speaks in male and female. But who hath not this in himself, hath not life, neither can have, by idolizing my person, or the person of any flesh ; but in whom the heir is born, and hath spoken, or doth speak, there must not be denied the mouth to speak by, who is head over all, and in all his own, God blessed for ever.

‘ And all those ranting wild spirits, which then gathered about me in that time of darkness ; and all their wild actions and wicked words against the honour of God, and his pure Spirit and people ; I deny that bad spirit, the power and the works thereof ; and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil spirit in any to arise, I take shame to myself justly ; having formerly had power over that spirit, in judgment and discerning, wherever it was ; which darkness came over me through want of watchfulness and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligently minding the reproof of life, which condemns the adulterous spirit. So the adversary got advantage, who ceases not to seek to devour ; and being taken captive from the true light, I was walking in the night where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for a prey. And if the Lord of all my mercies had not rescued me, I had perished ; for I was as one appointed to death and destruction, and there was none could deliver me. And this I confess, that God may be justified in his judgment, and magnified in his mercies without end, who did not forsake his captive in the night, even when his Spirit was daily provoked and grieved ; but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confess to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day : yet were there many things formed against me in that day to take away my life, and bring scandal upon the Truth, of which I am not guilty at all ; as that accusation, as if I had committed adultery with some of those women who came with us from Exeter prison, and also those who were with me at Bristol the night before I suffered there : of both which accusations I am clear before God, who kept me in that day both in thought and deed, as to all women, as a child, God is my record. And

this I mention in particular (hearing of some who still cease not to reproach therewith God's Truth and people,) that the mouth of enmity might be shut from evil speaking; though this toucheth not my conscience.

'And that report, as though I had raised Dorcas Erbury from the dead carnally, this I deny also, and condemn that testimony to be out of the Truth; though that power that quickens the dead, I deny not, which is the word of eternal life. And this I give forth, that it may go as far as the offence against the Spirit of Truth hath gone abroad, that all burdens may be taken off with the Truth, and the Truth cleared thereby, and the true light, and all that walk therein, and the deeds of darkness be condemned; and that all that are in darkness, may not act in the night, but stay upon God, who dwells in the light, who with the workers of iniquity hath no fellowship; which had I done, when first darkness came upon me, and not been led by others, I had not run against that rock to be broken, which so long had borne me, and of whom I had so largely drank, and of which I now drink in measure; to whom be the glory of all, and to him must every tongue confess, as Judge and Saviour, God over all, blessed for ever.'

The author adding to this an exhortation to the reader, how to behave himself, if at any time he came to be tempted to sin; and also a warning not to rely too much on gifts, wisdom, and knowledge, concludes thus:

'This I have learned in the deeps, and in secret, when I was alone; and now declare openly in the day of thy mercy, O Lord. Glory to the Highest for evermore, who hath thus far set me free, to praise his righteousness and his mercy; and to the eternal, invisible, pure God, over all, be fear, obedience, and glory for evermore. Amen.'

'James Nayler.'

He wrote another paper, wherein he related at large, how by unwatchfulness he came to fall, after having once obtained much victory over the power of Satan, by the grace of God, when he daily walked humbly in his fear, having for some years laboured faithfully in the ministry of the gospel. But what is remarkable, though wherever he did use to come, he went with great boldness through all opposition, yet coming to the city of London, he entered into it with the greatest fear that ever he came into any place with, in spirit foreseeing (as he relates) somewhat to befall him there, but not knowing what it might be: 'Yet had I,' (thus he saith) 'the same presence and power as before, in whatever place or service I was led of the Spirit; in that life I never returned without victory in Christ Jesus, the Lord thereof. But

not minding in all things to stand single and low to the motions of that endless life, by it to be led in all things within and without: but giving way to the reasoning part, as to some things which in themselves had no seeming evil, by little and little it drew out my mind after trifles, vanities, and persons, which took the affectionate part, by which my mind was drawn out from the constant watch, and pure fear, into which I once was begotten. Thus having in a great measure lost my own guide, and darkness being come upon me, I sought a place where I might have been alone to weep and cry before the Lord, that his face I might find, and my condition recover. But then my adversary, who had long waited his opportunity, had got in, and bestirred himself every way, so that I could not be hid: and divers messages came to me, some true, some false, as I have seen since. So I knowing some to be true, to wit, how I had lost my condition, with this I let in the false message also; and so letting go that little of the true light which I had yet remaining in myself, I gave up myself wholly to be led by others; whose work was then to divide me from the children of light, which was done: though much was done by divers of them to prevent it, and in bowels of tender love many laboured to have stayed me with them. And after I was led out from them, the Lord God of my life sent divers of his servants with his word after me, for my return; all which was rejected; yea, the provocation of that time of temptation was exceeding great against the pure love of God; yet he left me not; for after I had given myself under that power, and darkness was above, my adversary so prevailed, that all things were turned and perverted against my right seeing, hearing, or understanding; only a secret hope and faith I had in my God, whom I had served, that he would bring me through it, and to the end of it; and that I should again see the day of my redemption from under it all; and this quieted my soul in my greatest tribulation.'

The author moreover seriously exhorting others, who also might come to fall into great temptation, concludes with these words:

'He who hath saved my soul from death thus far, and lifted my feet up out of the pit, even to him be immortal glory for ever, and let every troubled soul trust in him; for his mercy endureth for ever.'

'James Nayler.'

That he came to a perfect recovery from his having been in a maze, seems to appear plainly by the following thanksgiving to God for his mercies, which he published after his fall:

‘ It is in my heart to praise thee, O my God ; let me never forget thee, what thou hast been to me in the night, by thy presence in the day of trial, when I was beset in darkness, when I was cast out as a wandering bird, when I was assaulted with strong temptations, then thy presence in secret did preserve me, and in a low state I felt thee near me. When the floods sought to sweep me away, thou didst set a compass for them how far they should pass over. When my way was through the sea, and when I passed under the mountains, there wast thou present with me. When the weight of the hills was upon me, thou upheldest me, else had I sunk under the earth. When I was as one altogether helpless ; when tribulation and anguish was upon me day and night, and the earth without foundation ; when I went on the way of wrath, and passed by the gates of hell ; when all comforts stood afar off, and he that is mine enemy had dominion ; when I was cast into the pit, and was as one appointed to death ; when I was between the mill-stones, and as one crushed with the weight of his adversary ; as a father thou wast with me, and the rock of thy presence. When the mouth of lions roared against me, and fear took hold of my soul in the pit, then I called upon thee in the night, and my cries were strong before thee daily ; who answeredst me from thy habitation, and deliveredst me from thy dwelling-place ; saying, I will set thee above all thy fears, and lift up thy feet above the head of oppression. I believed and was strengthened, and thy word was salvation. Thou didst fight on my part when I wrestled with death ; and when darkness would have shut me up, then thy light shone about me, and thy banner was over my head. When my work was in the furnace, and as I passed through the fire, by thee I was not consumed, though the flames ascended above my head. When I beheld the dreadful visions, and was amongst the fiery spirits, thy faith stayed me, else through fear I had fallen. I saw thee, and believed, so the enemy could not prevail.

‘ When I look back into thy works, I am astonished, and see no end of thy praises. Glory, glory to thee, saith my soul, and let my heart be ever filled with thanksgiving. Whilst thy works remain, they shall show forth thy power. Then didst thou lay the foundation of the earth, and lead me under the waters, and in the deep didst thou show me wonders, and thy forming of the world. By thy hand thou ledst me in safety, till thou showedst me the pillars of the earth. Then did the heavens shower down, they were covered with darkness, and the powers thereof were shaken, and thy glory descended ; thou filledst the lower parts of the earth with gladness, and the springs of the valleys were opened, and thy showers descended abundantly ; so the earth was filled with virtue. Thou madest thy plant to spring, and the

thirsty soul became as a watered garden : then didst thou lift me out of the pit, and set me forth in the sight of my enemies. Thou proclaimedst liberty to the captive, and calledst mine acquaintance near me : they to whom I had been a wonder, looked upon me, and in thy love I obtained favour in those who had forsook me. Then did gladness swallow up sorrow, and I forsook all my troubles ; and I said, how good is it that man be proved in the night, that he may know his folly ; that every mouth may become silent in thy hand, until thou makest man known to himself, and hast slain the boaster, and showed him the vanity that vexeth thy spirit.

‘ James Nayler.’

This plainly appears to be a poetical piece ; for the author all along makes use of allegorical sayings, to signify the great anguish and tribulation he had been under.

The hatred of his enemies was the fiercer, because he had undisguisedly and clearly demonstrated their duty to the rulers, and preachers, and lawyers : for in a certain book, published by him in the year 1653, to exhort men to repentance, he writes thus to the rulers :

‘ O you rulers of the people, who are set up to judge between a man and his neighbour, ought not you to judge for God, and not for man ? Ought not you to be men fearing God, and hating covetousness, not judging for gifts and rewards ? Ought not you to countenance and encourage them that do well, and to be a terror to them which do evil ? Justice is so. And he that is of God, and bears his sword, turns the edge of it against all sin and wickedness, injustice and oppression ; and so sets up justice and judgment in the gates, that the poor may be delivered from him that is too mighty for him, and that the cause of the fatherless, widow, and stranger may not fall ; but hath an ear open to the cries of the poor and helpless, who hath but little money and few friends ; that a poor man may not be afraid to appear in a good cause, against the greatest oppressor in the nation.

‘ And ought not you to judge without respect to persons, or without seeking respect to your own persons, worship, or honour from men ; but only to advance justice, equity, and righteousness, which is of God ; that so you may be honoured by the Lord ; for true humility is honour, and he that honours the Lord, him will He honour ; and such have been honoured in all ages, though they never sought it from men.’

This and much more he wrote to the rulers ; and to the preachers thus :

‘ And you who say you are the teachers of the nation, how long will it be ere you look at your own ways? Is not all manner of filthiness amongst you, which you should lead the people out of? Is there not among you drunkenness, gluttony, whoredom, and sporting, sitting down to eat and to drink, and rising up to play; swearing, lying, backbiting, false accusing, railing, slandering, contention, strife, and envy? Yea, are not the best of you given to pride and covetousness, which is idolatry; fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness? Are not you hirelings, and teach for the fleece? Do not you contend for money with your own hearers, and sue them at law for it; yea, although they cannot satisfy your demands, without sinning against the light in their own conscience, and so sin against God? Are you not bitter, and persecutors of any that come to discover your lewdness, crying out to the magistrate to uphold you in your beastly ways, and to stop the mouths of all those whom God hath sent to witness against you? And many more works of this nature is amongst you, which the pure all-seeing God hath showed unto his people, to be amongst you, and therefore it is that they come out from you, lest they partake with you of your sins and plagues. But are not you blind leaders of the blind, when you neither see these to be the works of darkness, nor those that follow you. Wo unto you that devour souls for money and gain, the day of your account is at hand. O repent, the blood of souls is upon you,’ &c.

The lawyers in the same writing had a stroke also thus :

‘ And you lawyers, ought not you to plead the cause of equity, between man and man for equity sake, without respect to yourselves or others, but only to truth itself; that a just cause may be owned in whomsoever it concerns? But is not the justest cause sure to fall, if the party have not money to satisfy your demands; which are many times very unreasonable? And you who should instruct people in the ways of truth and peace, do not you by your wisdom teach them lies and strife? Do not you advise your plaintiffs, as you call them, to declare in bills, things that are not true, and make small offences seem very great by false glosses? For say you, we may declare what we will, and prove what we can; so that you, and they whom you act for, know beforehand, that scarce one thing of ten can be proved, neither is true? Is this the way to make up the breach, and preserve peace and truth amongst people? O miserable fall from God, when that law which should before preserve in peace, is used to aggravate offences beyond truth, and so make differences greater. And do not you delight to fish in troubled waters; and the greater dissension amongst the people,

the more is your gain? Are not your purses filled, and your estates raised in the ruins of the people? And are not those laws which ought to be used to preserve people from oppression, by abusing, made the undoing of whole families, impoverishing towns and countries? The law, as it is now used, is scarce serviceable for any other end, but for the envious man, who hath much money to revenge himself of his poor neighbours, which, may be, never did him wrong. Is there any appearing for the poor against the rich, although his cause be just; but by deceit, delays, and expences, the remedy is worse than the disease?’

Much more he wrote to the lawyers, to stir them up to do justice, and then addressed himself to the people in general, in these words :

‘ And you people of the nation, that have seen the hand of God against the prince and people for these and the like abominations, and you yourselves are escaped, as brands plucked out of the fire; have you at all turned to him who hath smitten you; or are you bettered by correction; or have you made your peace with the Almighty? Although you have seen war, and the sword reaching to the very soul, are you not every one, to your own power, gathering fuel to that fire which hath been burning in the land, and hath consumed thousands; which should have been as a warning unto you who are escaped, to return to the Lord from the evil of your doings? But are not you still making the breach wider between God and the nation, as though you were left for no other end, but to fill up the measure of iniquity that is yet behind, that the just God may sweep the land with the besom of destruction? O when will you cease to provoke the Lord by your sins? Where is your Redeemer you have professed so long in words and forms? Can you witness him in your works? And what hath he redeemed you from? For saith he, “ Why call you me Lord, and do not the things which I say ?” Is He your Lord, and you servants to all manner of filthiness? And notwithstanding that you have seen his wonders in the nation, yet do not you exceed all that ever went before you, in pride, covetousness, drunkenness, swearing, envying, quarrelling, backbiting, slandering, false accusing, self-love, and deceit in all manner of merchandize and trading; false weights and measures, sayings, protestings one towards another, in your bargaining speaking things that are not true, and hereby to overreach your brethren, and get dishonest gain. How many false oaths, and idle words are spent about every bargain in your markets, and open streets, without blushing, or being ashamed? Yea, it is able to break the hearts of any who know the pure God, to know it, and hear it: for it is come to such a

height of deceit, that none can trust his brother; for lying, swearing, and forswearing, it abounds in the nation; and yet you will profess yourselves to be the members of Jesus Christ: and had Jesus Christ ever such a body as this? Nay, all that are members of him, are of one heart, and one soul.

‘And you talk of a communion of saints: had ever the saints such a communion as this, to defraud one another for money; and profess a Redeemer, and are servants to the devil, and your own lusts, in all the motions and temptations thereof, and are led captive at his will? But what redemption is this you witness? So long as sin, the partition wall, is between God and you, stands still whole in your wills, you will be drunk, swear, lie, and commit adultery, dissemble, and satisfy your lusts in all things, and say we are redeemed; yet commit all these abominations, and live in them, under a pretence of a profession, and going to the idols’ temple once a week. Did ever Jesus Christ redeem such a people, or dwell in such a people? Those whom he hath redeemed, he hath freed from the servitude of sin, by separating them from sin, and reconciling them to God, from whence they are fallen by sin: for God and sin cannot dwell in one. And to such he saith, “Be ye holy, for I am holy:” and as he is the “Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.” Now see, how are your sins taken away, when the kingdom of darkness doth wholly rule in you, and leads you into works and ways of darkness? Are you reconciled to God, and have you fellowship with him? Are not you yet strangers to him, and worship an unknown God? “For he that commits sin, hath not seen him, neither known him,” and so worship they know not what, in formal and superstitious worships.’

Thus J. Naylor wrote: but I now break off that I may not be tedious.

So zealous was he before his fall; which was wholly of another nature than the common sins and transgressions: for by the wiles of Satan, he accepted the idolatrous honour that some persons gave him, instead of which he ought to have reprovèd them; and thus was he so stupified in his understanding, that he imagined the bowing and kneeling before him, was not done on account of his person, but for Christ: and with this false opinion he blinded himself for a time, till it pleased God to pity him, and to give him light again; after he had suffered such an unheard of punishment for his transgression, as is already related in this history. And because his freedom of speech against unrighteousness of all sorts, and his preaching, ran very sharp upon all, several were angry with him, became his enemies, and took occasion from his crime to revenge themselves fiercely upon him, by making him suffer a cruel punishment, which was in no ways proportionable to his

transgression. But herein barbarous cruelty played its part so much, that the soberest inhabitants did detest it, and therefore a petition was presented to the parliament, desiring a discharge of part of the punishment, of which the first subscriber was colonel Scroop, who was governor of Bristol.

While he lay in the house of correction, he wrote several papers to manifest his regret and repentance for his crime ; some of which are already inserted in this history. Since, is come to my hand a letter to his friends, being written with his own hand, to this purport :

‘ Dear brethren,

‘ My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occasioned to God’s truth and people, and especially to you, who in dear love followed me, seeking me in faithfulness to God, which I rejected ; being bound wherein I could not come forth, till God’s hand brought me, to whose love I now confess : and I beseech you, forgive wherein I evilly requited your love in that day. God knows my sorrow for it, since I see it, that ever I should offend that of God in any, or reject his counsel ; and now that paper you have seen lies much upon me, and I greatly fear further to offend, or do amiss, whereby the innocent Truth, or people of God should suffer, or that I should disobey therein.

‘ Unless the Lord himself keep you from me, I beseech you let nothing else hinder your coming to me, that I might have your help in the Lord : in the mercies of Christ Jesus, this I beg of you, as if it was your own case, let me not be forgotten of you.

‘ And I entreat you, speak to Henry Clarke, or whoever else I have most offended ; and by the power of God, and in the Spirit of Christ Jesus, I am willing to confess the offence, that God’s love may arise in all hearts, as before, if it be his will, who only can remove what stands in the way ; and nothing thereof do I intend to cover : God is witness herein.

He also wrote several other confessions of his faults about this time, in one of which, amongst others, I find these words :

‘ And concerning you, the tender plants of my Father, who have suffered through me, or with me, in what the Lord hath suffered to be done with me, in this time of great trial and temptation ; the Almighty God of love, who hath numbered every sigh, and put every tear in his bottle, reward it a thousand fold into your bosoms, in the day of your need, when you shall come to be tried and tempted ; and in the meantime fulfil your joy with his love, which you seek after. The Lord knows, it was never in my heart to cause you to mourn, whose suffering is my greatest sorrow that ever yet came upon me, for you are innocent herein.’

When he had finished that letter, and set his name, he wrote as follows :

‘ I beseech you (all that can) to receive it, even as you would be received of the Lord ; and for the rest, the Lord give me patience to suffer, till he make up the breach.’

While he was in Bridewell, he wrote to the parliament, who had punished him as a blasphemer, to let them know what his true opinion concerning Jesus Christ was.

‘ Christ Jesus, (the Immanuel, of whose sufferings the Scriptures declare,) him alone I confess before men ; for whose sake I have denied whatever was dear to me in this world, that I might win him, and be found in him, and not in myself : whose life and virtue I find daily manifest in my mortal body, (which is my eternal joy and hope of glory,) whom I alone seek to serve in spirit, soul, and body, night and day, (according to the measure of grace working in me,) that in me he may be glorified, whether by life or death ; and for his sake I suffer all things, that he alone may have the glory of my change, whose work alone it is in me : even to that eternal Spirit be glory, and to the Lamb for ever.

‘ But to ascribe this name, power, and virtue, to James Nayler, (or to that which had a beginning, and must return to dust,) or for that to be exalted, or worshipped, to me is great idolatry, and with the Spirit of Christ Jesus in me it is condemned ; which Spirit leads to lowliness, meekness, and long-suffering.

‘ So having an opportunity given (with readiness) I am willing, in the fear of God the Father, (in honour to Christ Jesus, and to take off all offences from every simple heart,) this to declare to all the world, as the truth of Christ is in me, without guile or deceit, daily finding it to be my work to seek peace in truth with all men in that spirit.

‘ James Nayler.’

After this, hearing that some had wronged him about that which he had spoken to the committee of the parliament, and understanding how men had perverted his words, he wrote a paper, declaring himself further concerning his belief of Christ, and his sufferings, and death, &c. Also, he complained of things that some had published, under the title of James Nayler’s recantation, wherein they had much perverted him ; and he declared :

‘ And as touching the printing of that paper (called J. N.’s recantation) it was not done by me, nor with my knowledge in the least, nor do I yet at all know the man that hath done it : but out of the Truth, and against the Truth he hath done it, and for evil

towards me, whoever it was ; the Lord God of my life, who hath kept me alive in all distress, turn it for good, and forgive the evil : and though he that hath done it, hath not done it in Truth, nor love to it, yet what of truth there is in the paper, I shall own, as stands on Truth's behalf: for thus it was, that after I was put into the hole of Bridewell, I heard of many wild actions done by a sort of people, who pretended that they owned me ; and these were earnestly stirred up at that day, with much violence, and many unseemly actions, to go into the meetings of the people of the Lord called Quakers, on purpose to hinder their peaceable meetings ; and yet would take that holy and pure name of God and Christ frequently in their mouths, whereby the name of the Lord was much dishonoured, and his pure Spirit grieved, and much disorder they caused in many places of the nation, to the dishonour of Christ Jesus, for which I felt wrath from God ; which when I understood that they had any strength through me, I used all means I could to declare against that evil spirit, which under the name of God and Christ, was against God and Christ, his Truth and people ; and something I did give forth about a year and a half since, in denial of these spirits, which it seems to me, he that hath done this, hath got a sight of, and hath added to it the thoughts of his own heart, and so hath brought out this darkness, that people know not what to make of it.

‘ Therefore, so far as it testifies against those unclean ranting spirits, and all the actions wherein the holy name of God hath been dishonoured, and his Spirit grieved, so far I own it ; but in that it is turned as though I denied the Lord Jesus Christ, and his truth, which hath called me out of the world, or his people, whom he hath called into light, in that I own it not ; for in the patience and tribulation of Christ Jesus, and with those who have the power this day to testify therein, against all the evils of this present world, I am one in heart and soul to the utmost of my strength, till the coming of the Lord Jesus over all ; and the throne of meekness and truth, be set on the top of enmity and deceit ; in which faith and power I am given up to live and die, suffer or rejoice, as God will, even so be it, without murmuring.

‘ James Nayler.’

This is certain, that James Nayler came to very great sorrow, and deep humiliation of mind ; and therefore, because God forgives the transgressions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and remembereth them no more, so could James Nayler's friends do no other than forgive his crime, and thus take back the lost sheep into their society. He having afterwards obtained his liberty, behaved himself as became a Christian, honest, and blameless in conversation ; and patiently bore the reproach of his former crimes.

When king Charles II. had ascended the throne, one Richard

Blome published a book, entitled, *The Fanatic History*, which was said to be published with the approbation of orthodox divines, (so called,) and dedicated by him to the king. This book struck chiefly against the Quakers, and was stuffed with a multitude of lying stories, and the fall of J. Nayler was not concealed in it. He being then alive, took up the pen, and answered the falsities contained in it, relating to himself: and because R. Blome in his dedication, said, ‘That if his majesty put not forth his royal hand of power suddenly, to restrain us, we are so numerous, and seducing, that we will (in a little time) diffuse our poison over the better part of his kingdom, which none but a regal authority can stifle.’

‘I say then, what is become of your spiritual weapons? Have not your teachers told people of the strength of truth, and the power of godliness? Have you lost both, (may wisdom say,) and run you now to the arm of flesh, to get errors stifled, (as you call them,) or else your hope is lost, and your faith fails you? Did ever any of Christ’s ministers leave their spiritual weapons, to run to the arm of flesh, or a carnal weapon to stop seducers? I say, no. This they never did; but with spiritual weapons they wrestled, and overcame spiritual wickedness, and with them cut down heresies, blasphemies, and false worships, and cleared the churches of Christ of them, and drove them down before them in the world: for none could resist the spirit by which they spoke, of all the false priests, and false worshippers; but being put to the worst, they cried (as you do) to rulers and people, Help us, or all will be overrun: for they that turn the world upside down are come hither (mind your cry). And then the rude multitude ran on heaps upon them, and made tumults often, and fell upon them with staves and fists, and assaulted the houses that entertained them, as you do, and so haled them before rulers, who took their part herein, and put them in prison, and often whipped them; unless it were some that were so noble, as not to heed the cry of the multitude; but would hear their cause, and give them leave to speak, before they would sentence them (that were accused). And this was the nobility of heathen kings and rulers; and do not you seek to make England’s rulers worse than them? Beware, lest heathens rise up in the day of judgment against them who are called Christians, and condemn them.

‘And in this your cry for help, against so contemptible a people, (as you count them,) you (like silly women) do but discover your weakness and worthlessness; and if God open the eyes of king Charles, he will see it. What! have you preached and wrestled yourselves out of all hope and faith, that either you must have sudden help from him, or all is lost and overrun? Surely it may be said, you have been bad watchmen, and idle shepherds, who have lost all, if sudden help come not from another hand. Now if any had come against you with carnal

weapons, then had you had some excuse in crying to the earthly powers; but in that nothing but spirit comes against spirit, and yet you have lost the day. This doth clearly manifest, that the power of God you have not in you, but have lost the kingdom of the Most High, and so are become unreasonable men, who would have two weapons against one, and another to do your work for you, and yet are unwilling to forego your wages; yea, this advantage you have had divers years, but have not prevailed therewith.

‘And whereas thou sayest thy book is of great consequence; and so thou presumest to make king Charles the patron of it: and then askest pardon for thy presumption, when thou hast done. ‘I say thou hast need: the substance of thy book being made up of false accusations, gathered up out of books formerly written against us, which have been disproved by answers several times over: and to these thou hast added some new accusations, as false as the old, and spied out the failings of some few, who have mourned before God, that ever they should sin, and give occasion to the enemy of God so to blaspheme. And many things which were done and spoken by others, who are not of us, nor ever were: and of this is thy book made up, as any man may see who reads it, and our several answers to the charges therein, many of them of several years standing, against these false accusations, which have most of them been printed over and over, and presented to the former powers that have risen, and as often answered: so there needed no more to be said, than hath been, were it not for the sake of some who may yet be strangers to your way of dealing towards us, under every power that hath been. Now discretion will say, that to make another man the father of such a work, to which he is a stranger (but especially a king) is presumption indeed, rashness, and folly, and needs a pardon.

‘And whereas you now say, that none but a regal authority can stifle; it is true, you have tried parliaments and protectors (as you call them) and parliaments again; and to make them then work for you, your priests used these arguments to them, (to wit) That in the late wars they had exposed lives, liberties, estates, and relations, with all other personal advantages, in maintaining the just proceedings of parliaments, and from them you then claimed our stifling, as the price of your prayers, purses, hazards, losses, banishment, and blood, as may be read in the Westmoreland petition against us, which thou hast printed in page 197 and 198. And was not this power that which you then called the common enemy, in the same petition, page 200, which you now cry to, and would put him upon that work against us now, as defender of your faith, &c. Ah! faithless generation have you been to God and man, may you not be ashamed of this work, to print it, and send it to king Charles, and call him to

defend it, and patronize it: how hath envy bereaved you of your reasonableness? Shall he who defends this, defend either faith or truth? But this is, that you may cover yourselves with your shame and envy, that both king and people, and parliaments, may see what a generation you are, that will run under any power to get your bloody ends; but indeed true to none: for if it was true, that you were so faithful to that parliament, with your prayers, purses, and blood, as there you plead, then is your faith but new, which now you would have defended; but if not true, then how great deceivers, and how little to be trusted, or defended, in your cruel designs.

“The king that faithfully judges the poor, his throne shall be established for ever. But, if a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked,” Prov. xxix. 12, 14.

‘And to thee, who hast set forth this book of mischief, I say with the Scriptures, “Lay not wait, O wicked man, against the dwelling of the righteous, spoil not his resting place. For a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again; but the wicked shall fall into mischief,” Prov. xxiv. 15, 16. See also Mich. vii. 8. J. N.’

In answer to the book.

‘The day is come that the Scripture is fulfilled, which the Lord spoke by his prophet, Isa. xlv. 25. That he will make the diviners mad; and that the prophets shall be ashamed, every one of his vision, Zech. xiii. 4. The which doth now evidently appear, and their folly is made manifest unto all, that will see and behold it, according to 2 Tim. iii. 9. And is not this manifest madness and folly in them called orthodox and divines, to present unto the king their packet of lies, which have been seven years told over, and so long since disproved and confuted, as may be seen in a book called, Saul’s Errand to Damascus, &c. printed in the year 1653, and in several other books since. It already hath been, and is now manifest unto all men of sober understandings, that these men, falsely called orthodox and divines, have had no defence, either to vindicate themselves, or disprove the people called Quakers, but this refuge of lies, which they first presented to the parliament sitting in 1652, and likewise to other parliaments which have been since that time, and to the two protectors, and now to this present king is directed; and you presumptuously charge him to be the patron of it, requiring him to defend those lies which you falsely call the faith. But this we know, according as it is written, Prov. xxix. 12, 19, that “if a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked; but a wise king scattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel over them.” Chap. xx. 26.

‘ These pretended divines are such as have bowed and crouched under every appearance of a power, and by flatteries seem to cleave unto them, that they might uphold, maintain, and satisfy their God, which is their bellies. These were of them which said, that Oliver Cromwell was the light of their eyes, and the breath of their nostrils: so that now with shame they might rather confess that they are blind, and dead, (from the light and life of God,) than to multiply lies in their accustomed manner as formerly. These also were of them that said, Oliver Cromwell was Moses, who had led them into a sight of the good land; and that Richard his son was Joshua, which should lead them into the possession. But we, with many more, do see that their hope is false, and their faith also proved vain, and that they are not yet in the land of promise, for there no liars come. And those former rulers hearkening to their lies, were deceived by them which was the cause of God’s judgments, and utter destruction coming upon them; which while they put into the priests’ mouths, they cried peace unto them, calling them Moses, Aaron, and Joshua but when they ceased, and could not put into their mouths, then they cried out that Moses and Joshua were tyrants and oppressors: and so will they do unto the king now, who are seeking to cleave unto him by flattery and deceit; which if he deny to be the patron and defender of their lies, will be apt to cry as much against him. So that he, or they, are blessed, whose ears are not open to their clamours, but whose hearts are joined to the truth, and who are led by the Spirit of God as their instructor; for such shall discern hypocrites, and false-hearted men, under every pretence of flattery or dissimulation; for the folly of these begins to be manifest unto all men, 2 Tim. iii. 9.

‘ Now in answer to the history concerning John Toldervey, asserted by a company of priests, as Brooks, Cocking, Goodwin, Jenkins, Jacomb, Alderry, Tombs, and Pool, who themselves say, that they have but perused a part, as page 99, and yet pretend to witness the whole; whose witness is disproved and denied by the said John Toldervey, both by his own book given forth from him, and by his life and conversation, being now (since his return from his outgoing) a living witness, not against, but for the way, doctrine, principle, and practice, which the people called Quakers do live in, against those lies published abroad concerning him.

‘ And as for thy charge thou hast against J. Nayler, through the everlasting mercy of my God, I have yet a being amongst the living, and breath to answer for myself, though against the intents of many cruel bloody spirits, who pursued my soul unto death (as much as in them lay) in that day of my calamity, when my adversary was above, and wherein I was made a sign to a

backsliding generation, who then would not see nor hear what now is coming upon them; but rejoiced against this piece of dust, and had little pity towards him that was fallen into their hands; wherein God was just in giving me up for my disobedience, for a little moment, as a father to correct; yet should not they have sought to aggravate things against me, as thou dost; for it was a day of deep distress, and lay sore upon my soul, and the merciful God saw it; who, though he was displeased for a time, yet his thoughts were not to cast off for ever (but extend mercy) as it is at this day; glory be to his name, from my delivered soul, eternally.

‘And in that day there were many spirits flocked about me, and some whom (while the candle of the Lord shone upon my head) I ever judged and kept out from me, who then got up and acted, and spoke several things not in the light and truth of God, by which they, who sought occasion against me, were then strengthened to afflict this body, and he that watches for evil, in thee and some others, makes use of still against God’s truth and innocent people; whose mouths the God of my mercy stop, and so finish the trouble of my heart as to that thing; for my soul hath long dwelt among lions, even among them that are set on fire, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongues a sharp sword, speaking mischievous things to shed blood.

‘But, O man, or men, whoever you be, whose work it is to gather the failings of God’s people in the time of temptation, or night of their trial, and aggravate them, and add thereto the wickedness and mischievous lies of your own hearts, as thou hast done in thy book, and then come out with those, against God’s everlasting holy truth, it to reproach; I say you are set on work by an evil spirit, and you do but show yourselves to be enemies to God and his children; and it is our sorrow, that any of us should give occasion to blaspheme; and it hath been trouble of soul to all the people of God, that have ever loved righteousness, when they have thus occasioned the joy of the wicked, or to feed the man that watches for iniquity, and feeds on mischief: yet know this, you that are of that brood, God will not cast off his people; though he be sometimes provoked to correct them, even before their adversaries, (which is a sign to them,) yet is his anger but for a moment, and his favour shall return as streams of life; then shall the food be taken out of the mouth of the viper, and the prey from between the teeth of the devourers; and God will feed them with their own vomit, and the poison that hath long lain under their tongues, shall be bitter in their own bowels. Thus will God certainly plead with Zion’s enemies, as he bends her sons for himself, and God will make up her breaches: and this hath my soul seen, Jacob’s captivity restored, and the diggers of the pit are fallen therein; neither hath he smitten

him as he smote them that smote him, nor is he slain according to the slaughter of them that are slain by him ; but this is all, his fruit to purge away his sin.

‘ So he that hath long watched for my faltering, then got advantage against me ; yet had I then power to bear his utmost envy, through Christ Jesus, whom I then confessed before men, who then was my support in all, and under all, and who is over all, blessed for ever of all who have proved him in the depth.

‘ But that which was, and is the sorrow of my heart, is the advantage the enemy then took against the name of Christ, his truth, and his despised people, in that time of temptation, which is that which thou art now pursuing with hatred and lies, as that I was suspected to have a woman in bed with me, the night before I suffered at Bristol, when there were six or seven persons in the room that night, and a man (to wit, Robert Rich) in bed with me. But this, and several other false things, thou hast written in thy book, of which I am clear before the Lord, so they touch me not at all ; nor shall I here mention them against thee in particular ; but to God alone I look, in his time to be cleared from all offences in his sight, who only knows my heart in this thing, in whose presence I can say, that nothing is more odious and burdensome to my soul, than that any of the glory and worship which belongs to God or Christ, should be given to flesh and blood, in myself, or others : and how it was with me at that day many talk of, but few know ; so the judgment of such I bear ; desiring that none in judging me, might have condemned themselves in God’s sight ; whose counsels are a great deep, and the end of his work past finding out, till he himself reveal them ; but in the end he will be justified of all, and in all he doth, that all flesh may be silent before him.

‘ And however myself, or any others, may be left to themselves, to be tried in the night, yea, should any utterly fall, or whatever may be acted by any man or woman, that is not justifiable in God’s sight, yet in vain dost thou, or you, gather up sin, or watch for iniquity, to cast upon the light, which condemns it in every enlightened conscience, and there will clear himself to be no author nor actor therein ; and I know by the Spirit of Jesus, which I have received, and which worketh in me, that this is not his work, nor his seed ; nor in him that loves his enemies, thou art not ; but the old accuser of the brethren it is that worketh strongly in thee ; and in the light which thou reproachest, art thou seen to be the man that makes lies, and carries tales to shed blood.’ Ezek. xxii. 9, 12.

Thus much and more J. Nayler wrote to answer the falsehoods whereof he was accused, and to apologize for the doctrine of

which he had made profession, and to show that the fault of his crime must no ways be attributed to the same, as many envious persons in those times asserted, to wit, that his fall was a consequence of the doctrine, that men must take heed to the saving grace, the inward anointing, or the light wherewith every man coming into the world is enlightened from God.*

Yet to proceed further with J. Nayler: he wrote after his recovery, many papers and edifying letters: he also answered two letters, which when the persecution in New England burnt so fierce, were sent over from thence in defence of that fact; one under the name of John Endicot, governor of Boston, and the other in that of Richard Billingham. All the arguments for the persecution of the Quakers to be lawful and necessary, he answered at large, and showed how little agreement their crime of pursuing persecution had with the name wherewith they had called themselves, for a distinction from other persuasions, namely, Independents, by which they would have it known, that they were independent from all, except the Spirit of Jesus Christ, on whom they pretended alone to be dependent: and yet nevertheless it now appeared manifestly that it was the fleshly arm whereby they supported themselves. He wrote also some papers to the parliament, and the rulers, to check the vanities that were publicly committed, and to mend their faults; to ease the oppressed, and to take care for the maintenance of liberty.

* "J. Nayler was a man who had been highly favoured of God with a good degree of grace, which was sufficient for him, had he kept to its teachings; for while he did so, he was exemplary in godliness and great humility, was powerful in word and doctrine, and thereby instrumental in the hand of God for turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of God. But he, poor man, became exalted above measure, through the abundance of revelation; and in that exaltation did depart from the grace and Holy Spirit of God, which had been his sufficient teacher. Then blindness came over him; and he did suffer himself to be accounted of above what he ought: here he slipped and fell, but not irrecoverably; for it did please God of his infinite mercy, in the day of his affliction, to give him a sight and sense of his outgoings and fall, and also a place of repentance. And he, with the prodigal, humbled himself for his transgression, and besought God with true contrition of soul, to pardon his offences through Jesus Christ. God, I firmly believe, forgave him; for he pardons the truly penitent. His people received him with great joy, for that he who had gone astray from God, was now returned to the Father's house, and for that he who had separated himself from them through his iniquity, was now through repentance and forsaking of it, returned into the unity of the faith, and their holy fellowship in the gospel of Christ. And I do hereby testify, that I do esteem it a particular mark of God's owning his people, in bringing back into unity with them, a man who had so dangerously fallen, as did James Nayler. And here let none insult, but take heed lest they also, in the hour of their temptation, do fall away. Nor let any boastingly say, Where is your God? Or blasphemously suppose his grace is not sufficient for man in temptation, because the tempted may go from, and neglect the teaching of it. David and Peter, as their transgression came by their departing from this infallible guide, the Holy Spirit, so their recovery was only by it." Jos. Wyeth's *Anguis Flagel.*

At length* he died in Huntingdonshire, in the latter end of the year 1660, about the 44th year of his age. About two hours before his death, he spoke, in the presence of several witnesses, these words :

‘There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to out-live all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other : if it be betrayed, it bears it ; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it ; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings ; for with the world’s joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken. I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens, and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal holy life.†

‘James Nayler.’

This was J. Nayler’s last testimony, or dying words ; and thus he gave proof, that though he had erred, yet with great confidence he hoped for a happy resurrection.

* “He was a man of great self-denial, and very jealous of himself, ever after his fall and recovery. At last, departing from the city of London, about the latter end of the eighth month, 1660, towards the north, intending to go home to his wife and children at Wakefield in Yorkshire, he was seen by a friend of Hertford, (sitting by the way-side in a very awful weighty frame of mind,) who invited him to his house, but he refused, signifying his mind to pass forward, and so went on foot as far as Huntingdonshire, and was observed by a friend, as he passed through the town, in such an awful frame, as if he had been redeemed from the earth, and a stranger on it, seeking a better country and inheritance. But going some miles beyond Huntingdon, he was taken ill, (being, as it is said,) robbed by the way, and left bound : whether he received any personal injury is not certainly known, but being found in a field by a countryman toward evening, was had, or went to a friend’s house at Holm, not far from King’s Rippon, where Thomas Parnel, a doctor of physic, dwelt, who came to visit him ; and being asked if any friends at London should be sent for to come and see him, he said, ‘Nay,’ expressing his care and love to them. Being shifted, he said, ‘You have refreshed my body, the Lord refresh your souls ;’ and not long after departed this life, in peace with the Lord, about the ninth month, 1660, and the 44th year of his age, and was buried in Thomas Parnell’s burying-ground at King’s Rippon aforesaid.” J. W’s account.

† N. B. There is a passage in the book, called the Complete History of England, vol. iii. page 201, which says that J. Nayler died with no fruits, nor so much as signs of repentance. How the author came by such information we cannot tell, but that it is a manifest mistake we doubt not but the impartial reader is by this time abundantly convinced.

So I conclude the story of J. Nayler, and leaving him now, time calls me to New England.

It was in the month called July, of this present year, when Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived in the road before Boston, before ever a law was made there against the Quakers; and yet they were very ill-treated; for before they came ashore, the deputy-governor, Richard Billingham, (the governor himself being out of town) sent officers aboard, who searched their trunks and chests, and took away the books they found there, which were about one hundred, and carried them ashore, after having commanded the said women to be kept prisoners aboard; and the said books were, by an order of the council, burned in the market-place by the hangman. Afterwards the deputy-governor had them brought on shore, and committed them by a mittimus to prison as Quakers, upon this proof only, that one of them speaking to him, had said 'thee,' instead of 'you': whereupon he said, he needed no more, for now he saw they were Quakers. And then they were shut up close prisoners, and command was given that none should come to them without leave; a fine of five pounds being laid on any that should otherwise come at, or speak with them, though but at the window. Their pens, ink, and paper were taken from them, and they not suffered to have any candle-light in the night season; nay, what is more, they were stripped naked, under pretence to know whether they were witches, though in searching, no token was found upon them but of innocence: and in this search they were so barbarously misused, that modesty forbids to mention it; and that none might have communication with them, a board was nailed up before the window of the gaol. And seeing they were not provided with victuals, Nicolas Upshal, one who had lived long in Boston, and was a member of the church there, was so concerned about it, (liberty being denied to send them provision,) that he purchased it of the gaoler at the rate of five shillings a week, lest they should have starved. And after having been about five weeks prisoners, William Chichester, master of a vessel, was bound in one hundred pounds bond to carry them back, and not to suffer any to speak with them, after they were put on board; and the gaoler kept their beds, which were brought out of the ship, and their Bible, for his fees.

Such was the entertainment the Quakers first met with at Boston, and that from a people who pretended, that for conscience-sake, they had chosen the wilderness of America, before the well-cultivated Old England; though afterwards, when they took away the lives of those called Quakers, they, to excuse their cruel actions, did not stick to say, that at first they had used no punishment against the Quakers.

Scarce a month after the arrival of the aforesaid women at Bos-

ton, there came also Christopher Holder, Thomas Thirstone, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbens, Mary Whitehead, and Dorothy Waugh; they were locked up in the same manner as the former, and after about eleven weeks stay, sent back; Robert Lock, a master of a ship, being compelled to carry these eight persons back on his own charge, and to land them no where but in England; having been imprisoned till he undertook so to do.

The governor, John Endicot, whose blood-thirstiness will appear in the sequel, being now come home, bid them 'Take heed ye break not our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter.' And when they desired a copy of those laws, it was denied them; which made some of the people say, 'How shall they know then when they transgress?' But Endicot remained stiff, having said before, when at Salem, he heard how Ann Austin and Mary Fisher had been dealt with at Boston, 'If I had been there, I would have had them well whipped.' Then a law was made, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any Quakers into that jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the house of correction. When this law was published, Nicholas Upshal, already mentioned, could not forbear to show the persecutors the unreasonableness of their proceedings: warning them to take heed that they were not found fighting against God, and so draw down a judgment upon the land. But this was taken so ill, that though he was a member of their church, and of good repute, as a man of unblamable conversation, yet he was fined in twenty-three pounds, and imprisoned also for not coming to church, and next they banished him out of their jurisdiction. This fine was exacted so severely, that Endicot said, 'I will not bate him one groat.' And though a weakly old man, yet they allowed him but one month's space for his removal, so that he was forced to depart in the winter.

Coming at length to Rhode Island, he met an Indian prince, who having understood how he had been dealt with, behaved himself very kindly, and told him, if he would live with him, he would make him a warm house. And further said, 'What a God have the English, who deal so with one another about their God!' For it seems Upshal was already looked upon as one that was departing from his church-membership. But this was but a beginning of the New England persecution, which in time grew so hot, that some of the Quakers were put to death on the gallows, as will be related in its due time.

Now I return to Old England, where we left G. Fox at Exeter, from whence he went to Bristol. Here he had a great meeting in an orchard; and since some thousands of people were come thither, and many very eager to see him, he stepped upon a great stone that stood there, and having put off his hat, stood a

pretty while silent, to let people look at him. A Baptist was there, named Paul Gwyn, who began to find fault with G. Fox's hair, and at last said to the people, 'Ye wise men of Bristol, I strange at you, that ye will stand here, and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good.' Hereupon G. Fox asked the people whether they ever heard him speak before, or ever saw him before? And he bid them take notice what kind of a man this Gwyn was, who so impudently said, that he spake and affirmed that which he could not make good; and yet neither Gwyn nor they ever heard him, or saw him before; and that therefore it was a lying, envious, and malicious spirit that spoke in him. Then G. Fox charging Gwyn to be silent, began to preach, which lasted some hours, without being disturbed.

After this meeting, G. Fox departed from Bristol, and passing through Wiltshire, Marlborough, and other places, he returned to London; and when he came near Hyde Park, he saw the protector coming in his coach; whereupon he rode up to the coach side, and some of his life-guard would have put him away, but the protector forbade them. Then riding by his coach-side, he spoke to him about the sufferings of his friends in the nation, and showed him how contrary this persecution was to Christ and his apostles, and to Christianity. And when they were come to the gate of St. James's Park, G. Fox left Cromwell, who at parting desired him to come to his house. The next day, Mary Sanders, afterwards Stout, one of Cromwell's wife's maids, came to G. Fox's lodging, and told him, that her master coming home, said he would tell her some good news; and when she asked him what it was, he told her G. Fox was come to town; to which she replied, that was good news indeed. Not long after, G. Fox and Edward Pyot went to Whitehall, and there spoke to Cromwell concerning the sufferings of their friends, and directed him to the light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. To which Cromwell said, this was a natural light; but they showed him the contrary, saying that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ, the spiritual and heavenly man. Moreover, G. Fox bid the protector lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus. And as he was standing by the table, Cromwell came and sat upon the table's side by him, and said he would be as high as G. Fox was. But though he continued to speak in a light manner, yet afterward was so serious, that when he came to his wife and other company, he said that he never parted so from the Quakers before.

G. Fox having visited the meetings of his friends in and about London, departed thence, and travelled almost through all England, not without many occurrences, which for brevity's sake I pass by. At length he returned to London again, this year being now come to an end.

In the parliament which Cromwell had called, a law was made, whereby Charles Stuart's title of king was rejected, and the year 1657 being come, subsidies were granted to Cromwell, and there was a contrivance underhand to make him king, of which, though he expressed his dislike, yet he seemed not altogether averse to it: for speaking once with general Fleetwood and colonel Desborough, he began to droll with them about the word monarch, and said, it was but a feather in a man's cap; and therefore he wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But they not obscurely signified to him, that this business did displease them; and told him, that those who put him upon it, were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin upon himself. Now, though he would not openly oppose them, yet he did not stick to tell them, they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so left them. It is related also, that major-general Lambert told Cromwell, that if he accepted the crown, he could not assure the army to him. The design thus miscarrying, and Cromwell having now seen that the matter would not go so cleverly, he refused the title of king; and the parliament confirming him in his title of protector, it was agreed that the parliament henceforth should consist of a lower house, and another house; and that the protector should name a successor in the government. Now he was solemnly vested in his authority, a throne for that purpose being erected in Westminster Hall, and he being clothed in a purple robe lined with ermins, and the sceptre and sword being presented him, took the oath to rule faithfully. Cromwell having called a new parliament, it consisted of two houses, viz. a house of commons, and 'another house', as they called it. And many excluded members having taken place again in the house of commons, it was believed that more than a hundred of the members were enemies to Cromwell; and the authority of the upper house began to be called in question by some, because it was filled up with many of his creatures, some of them of low rank. And this matter was so carried on in the house of commons, that Cromwell dissolved the parliament; and he also made major-general Lambert surrender his commission.

Edward Burrough, who often wrote to Cromwell, having heard of the design of making him king, wrote a letter to him, wherein I find, that after having told the protector that he had had many warnings from the Lord, he thus speaks to him:

'I, as one that hath obtained mercy from the Lord, and unto whom his word is committed, being moved of him, do hereby in his presence yet once more warn thee, that thou fear before him, and diligently hearken to him, and seek him with all thy heart, that thou mayest know his will and counsel concerning thee, and

mayest do it, and find favour in his sight, and live. Now is the day that his hand is stretched forth unto thee, to make thee a blessing, or to leave thee a curse for ever; and the days of thy visitation are near an end, when God will no more call unto thee, nor hear thee, when in the day of thy trouble thou callest to him. And if thou rejectest the counsel of the Lord, and followest the desires of thine own heart, and the wills of men, and wilt not have the light of the world, Christ Jesus, only to rule thee, and to teach thee, which condemns all evil, then shall evil surely fall upon thee, if thou lovest not the light in thee, which condemns it; and the judgments of God, nor the day of his last visitation with vengeance, thou mayest not escape. Therefore consider, and mark my words, and let this counsel be acceptable unto thee; let it move thee to meekness, to humbleness, and to fear before the Lord; assuredly knowing that it is he that changeth times and things, and that bringeth down, and setteth up whomsoever he will; and how that thou wast raised from a low estate, and set over all thine enemies. And in that day when thou wast raised up, when the fear of the Lord was before thy face, and thy heart was towards him, and thou wast but little in thine own eyes, then was it well with thee, and the Lord blessed thee. And it was not once thought concerning thee, that the hands of the ungodly would have been strengthened against the righteous under thee, or that such grievous and cruel burdens and oppressions would ever have been laid upon the just, and acted against them in thy name, and under thy dominion, as unrighteously have come to pass in these three years: and this thy suffering of such things is thy transgression, and thou hast not requited the Lord well for his goodness unto thee, nor fulfilled his will in suffering that to be done under thee, and in thy name, which the Lord raised thee against, and to break down, hadst thou been faithful to the end.

‘Again, consider, and let it move on thy heart, not to exalt thyself, nor to be high-minded, but to fear continually, knowing that thou standest not by thyself, but by another, and that he is able to abase thee, and give thee into the will of thy enemies whensoever he will; and how the Lord hath preserved thee sometimes wonderfully, and doth unto this day, from the murderous plots, and crafty policy of evil men, who seek thy evil, and would rejoice in thy fall, and in the desolation of thy family and countries: how have they, and do they, lay snares for thy feet, that thou mayest be cut off from amongst men, and die unhappily, and be accounted accursed? And yet to this day he hath preserved thee, and been near to keep thee, though thou hast hardly known it; and the Lord’s end is love to thee in all these things, and yet a little longer to try thee, that thou mayest give him the glory.

‘O that thy heart were opened to see his hand, that thou

mightest live unto him, and die in him in peace. And beware lest hardness of heart possess thee, if thou slight his love, and so be shut up in darkness and given to the desires of thine enemies, and left to the counsels of treacherous men, who may seek to exalt thee by flattery, that they may the better cast thee down, and destroy thee, and blot out thy name in reproach, and make thy posterity a people miserable. But now, O consider, and let it enter into thy heart, for thou hast not answered the Lord, but been wanting to him for all this, and hast chosen thy own way and glory, rather than his, and not fulfilled his counsel in raising thee: for the bonds of cruelty are not loosed by thee, and the oppressed are not altogether set free; neither is oppression taken off from the back of the poor, nor the laws regulated, nor the liberty of pure consciences altogether allowed: but these dominions are filled with cruel oppressions and the poor groan every where under the heavy hand of injustice; the needy are trodden down under foot, and the oppressed cry for deliverance, and are ready to faint for true justice and judgment. The proud exalt themselves against the poor, and the high-minded and rebellious contemn the meek of the earth: the horn of the ungodly is exalted above the Lord's heritage, and they that are departed from iniquity, are become a prey to oppressors; and the cruel-hearted deal cruelly with the innocent in these nations. Many are unjustly, and wofully sufferers, because they cannot swear on this, or that occasion, though in all cases they speak the truth, and do obey Christ's commands; even such are trodden upon, by unjust fines charged upon them; and this is by the corruptness of some that bear rule under thee, who rule not for God as they ought, but turn the sword of justice. Some suffer long and tedious imprisonments, and others cruel stripes and abuses, and danger of life many times, from wicked men, for reproving sin, and crying against the abominations of the times (which the Scriptures also testify against,) in streets, or other places; some having been sent to prison, taken on the highway, and no evil charged against them; and others committed, being taken out of peaceable meetings, and whipped, and sent to prison, without transgression of any law, just or unjust, wholly through the rage and envy of the devil, and such who have perverted judgment and justice; and some in prisons have suffered superabundantly from the hands of the cruel gaolers and their servants, by beatings and threatenings, and putting irons on them, and not suffering any of their friends to visit them with necessities; and some have died in the prisons, whose lives were not dear to them, whose blood will be reckoned in account against thee one day. Some have suffered hard cruelties, because they could not respect persons, and bow with hat or knee; and from these cruelties canst thou not altogether be excused in the sight of God, being brought forth in thy name, and under thy power.

Consider, friend, and be awakened to true judgment, let the Lord search thy heart; and lay these things to mind, that thou mayest be an instrument to remove every burden, and mayest at last fulfil the will of God.—O be awakened, be awakened, and seek the Lord's glory, and not thine own, lest thou perish before the Lord and men: nay, if men would give thee honour, and high titles, and princely thrones, take it not; for that which would exalt and honour thee in the world, would betray thee to the world, and cast thee down in the sight of the world: and this is God's word to thee: what! shall the whole nation be perjured men, and thou the cause of it? And wilt thou transgress by building again that which thou hast destroyed? Give heed unto my words, and understand my speech: be not exalted by man, lest man betray thee. Deal favourably, and relieve the oppressed; boast not thyself, though the Lord hath used thee in his hand; but know that when he will, he can cast thee, as a rod, out of his hand into the fire; for in his hand thou art. If thou wilt honour him, he will honour thee; otherwise he can, yea, and will confound thee, and break thee, and make thee weak as water before him. His love through my heart breathes unto thee; he would thy happiness, if thou wilfully contemn it not by exalting thyself, and seeking thy own glory, and hardening thy heart against the cry of the poor. This I was moved in bowels of pity to lay before thee, who, am thy friend, not in flattery, but in an upright heart, who wishes well unto thee in the Lord.

‘E. Burrough.’

That which E. Burrough mentions in the forepart of this letter, of the grievous burdens and oppressions laid upon the just, seems chiefly to regard the tithes which the priests extorted from the Quakers, so that many thereby were reduced to poverty; and the heinousness of this was not unknown to Cromwell; for when he was about to give battle to his enemies near Dunbar in Scotland, he said in his prayer to God, that if the Lord would be pleased to deliver him at that time, he would take off that great oppression of tithes. But this promise he never performed, but suffered himself to be swayed by the flatteries of his teachers; and therefore it was not without great cause that E. Burrough laid this grievous oppression before him. A copy of the said letter, of which but a part is inserted here, to shun prolixity, was given into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, then protector, in the third month of this year. In the next month E. Burrough spoke with him about it, and Cromwell told him in effect that all persecution and cruelty was against his mind, and said that he was not guilty of those persecutions acted unjustly upon Burrough's friends. This made E. Burrough write again to him, and bid him, ‘Consider what the cause is, that what thou desirest not to

be done, is yet done: is it not that thou mayest please men; making it appear thou art more willing to do the false teachers of this nation, and wicked men, a pleasure, than to own the people of God, in relieving them, and easing them of their cruel burdens and oppressions, laid upon them by unjust men? For a word of thy mouth, or a show of thy countenance, in dislike of these cruel and unjust persecutions, would bind the hands of many blood-thirsty men. Therefore consider: thou canst not be cleared in the sight of the Lord God from them, being acted under thee, and in thy name: for there seems rather to be a favouring of them in thee, by forbearance of the actors of cruelty, by which their hands are strengthened, than any dislike showed by thee, in bearing thy witness, as thou oughtest to do, against them. For thou knowest of some in this city, and elsewhere, whom we know to be just men, who suffer imprisonment, and the loss of their liberties, because for conscience-sake they cannot swear; and many others in this nation, suffering cruel things upon the like, or same ground; even for well doing, and not for evil; which oppression might be removed, and their unjust sufferings taken off by thee, by a word from thy mouth or pen; and this makes that thou canst not be clear in the sight of God in these things, because not helped by thee, who hast the power to help it.

‘And as concerning the light of Christ, at which thou stumblest, by which every man that cometh into the world is enlightened, in short, this I say: this light to thee is given of God, and thou must own it to be thy only teacher, to receive by it from the Father, and to be guided by it in all things, if ever thou inheritest God’s kingdom.

‘The kingdom of Christ is setting up by his own power, and all must bow and become subject thereto; he needeth none of thy policy, nor the strength of thy arm to advance it; yet would he have thee not to prove thyself an open enemy thereof, by doing, or suffering to be done, cruelty and injustice against them whom the Lord is redeeming out of this world, into subjection unto that kingdom; lest thou be such a one, as will not enter thyself, nor suffer others to enter, and so destruction come upon thee. Wherefore arise as out of sleep, and slumber not in this world’s glory and honour; be not overcome by the pleasures of this world, nor the flattering titles of men; wink not at the cruelty and oppression acted by some, who shelter under thee, and make thy name a cloak for mischief against the upright.

‘Consider, I say, consider, and be thou changed in thy mind and heart; lest thou having forgotten God, and his many deliverances, be shut up, and numbered for destruction. I desire the Lord may give thee a more perfect understanding of his ways and judgments, and that the crown immortal thou mayest strive

for, by meekness and righteousness, through relieving the oppressed, and showing mercy to the poor, and removing every burden which lies upon the innocent; and this is the desire of him who is thy friend, and would not have thee crowned with dishonour, through suffering the people of God to be oppressed in thy name, which will be thy overthrow absolutely, if thou removest it not, by turning, and easing the oppressed. 'E. Burrough.'

This letter was delivered to O. Cromwell, in the fourth month, and in the month following E. Burrough wrote again to him, that the good name PROTECTOR, by the great oppression acted in his name, was abused, and subverted; and that instead of protection by it, great injustice was acted under it, and covered with it. Besides, that several justices of the peace, and other officers, in trust under him, when they had owned the people called Quakers, had been cast out of their places; though they had not denied to serve him and the commonwealth, neither had unfaithfulness to their trust been proved against them.

In September, E. Burrough wrote another letter to Cromwell, wherein he signified to him, that he had many enemies, some of which endeavoured to destroy him, by any means, without regarding any danger that might be in the attempt. And that he going on in oppressing through tyranny, or suffering it, perhaps the Lord might raise up the wicked to be a plague to wickedness, and suffer the oppressors to overthrow oppressions. That there were others, viz. the fifth-monarchy men, who, though not so bad as the former, yet secretly murmured against him, and envied him, not being friends to his government, some of them being cast out and rejected, without just cause as they supposed. 'And as to us, how can we (said he) mention thee in our prayers to God, except it be to be delivered from thee, who are daily unjustly sufferers by thee, or because of thee? Or how can we be friends to that government, under which we daily suffer such hard and cruel things, as the loss of our liberty and estates, and are in danger of life also?'

It was about the beginning of this year, that Christopher Birkhead came to Zealand, having before been at Rochelle in France; where having spoken and written against the popish religion, he was imprisoned, and examined by the bishop: and some would have had him burnt, but the criminal judge absolved him. It was in the latter end of the month called February, when he came to Middleburgh in Zealand; and going to the English congregation there, after the preacher, William Spanke, had preached about three quarters of an hour, he said, 'Friends, the apostle saith, that we may all prophesy one by one; that two or three prophets may speak, and the others judge; and if any thing be

revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace.' This speaking caused a great stir in the congregation, and the rather because he stood in the place where the women used to sit: so he was apprehended by order of the magistrates, and examined in the presence of some of the public preachers. When he was asked what his name was, he answered, that his name, according to the flesh, was Christopher Birkhead. Then it was asked him, whether he had yet another name, and his answer was, 'Yes, written in the Lamb's book of life.' Being enquired what that name was, he made answer, 'None knows it but he that hath it.' To which was said, 'Why, if you have it, tell it us.' 'No,' replied he, 'read it, if you have seen the book of the Lamb opened: it is forbidden me to tell it.' Then the English teacher, Spanke, asked, whether he had seen the book of the Lamb opened; and he answered, 'Yea.' The next question was, whether he had opened it: 'No,' said Birkhead, 'it was the Lamb that did it.' Then Spanke asked, whether his name in the book of the Lamb was not Jesus: 'No,' quoth Birkhead, 'that is the name of the Lamb.' More other questions to ensnare him, Spanke put to him: and being examined by the magistrates concerning the place of his abode, his calling, or trade, &c. Spanke was asked, what he had to say against him; who then related what had happened in the congregation. Concerning this, several questions were asked of Birkhead, but since he understood not Dutch, and the French tongue but imperfectly, he complained that he could not fully answer for himself so as he wished. He was asked also, whether any body else also came along with him; and he was charged to speak the truth. To which he said, that God did not permit him to lie. One of the preachers then said, that all men were liars. To this Birkhead replied, that though all men were liars, yet he knew a deliverance from lying. Then Spanke bid him not to add to the Scriptures: for Birkhead had accused him a little before, that he had added his meaning to the Scriptures. And it being strongly asserted that all men were liars, Birkhead took occasion from thence to ask Spanke whether he was a liar; who, without hesitation answering 'Yes,' Birkhead bluntly told him, 'Then thou art of thy father the devil.' Now the matter of J. Nayler having caused strange reports of the Quakers every where, and Birkhead, for want of the language, not being able to answer so plainly every objection, his offence, without question, was aggravated the more: and the conclusion was, that he was sentenced to be confined in the house of correction. But after some time he was released, at the intercession of the Heer Newport, ambassador of the states-general in England.

In this year it was, I think, that one George Baily coming into France, was taken into custody, and died in prison there; he

having zealously testified against popery, and spoken boldly against the worshipping of images.

William Ames returning this year to Amsterdam, and one Humble Thatcher (whom I could never learn to have been truly in communion with the Quakers) coming with him, it caused some jealousy : for Ames, who formerly had been in military employment, was an extraordinary bold man ; and about this time it seems, a paper was put upon the door of the English meeting-house, though Ames declared he knew nothing of it, or who was the author. About this time also, the strange business of J. Nayler being noised abroad, by a book that was published in print at Amsterdam, and some other pamphlets, stuffed with several untruths, and abominable lies, it was not to be wondered at that the magistrates fearing some mischief, sent for Ames and Thatcher to appear before them, and commanded them to depart the town within twenty-four hours : but they being persuaded of their own innocency, did not obey this command. The next day appearing again before the magistrates, and not putting off their hats, it seems they were looked upon as such as did not own magistrates ; (for this the Quakers stood charged with in public print, and were compared to the tumultuous crew of Anabaptists, or fifth-monarchy men, at Munster, in the foregoing age :) and so they were kept in custody for some days, and then at night were led through the Regulars' Gate, and so banished out of the town. But W. Ames judging that he had committed no evil, came again the next day into the city, and passed the great market-place, called the Dam. It is reported, that some of the magistrates seeing him out of the windows of the town-house, walking along the street, said, ' Lo, there's the Quaker ; if we had a mind now to make martyrs, here would be an opportunity for it.' But it seems not without reason, that it was looked upon to be most safe to wink at this ; for though strange reports were spread up and down of the Quakers, yet there was no proof of their evil carriage here. Meanwhile Ames staid some time in town, and the doctrine he preached found a little entrance, even with some of the collegians.

It was about this time, that my parents, viz. Jacob Williamson Sewel, of Utrecht, free citizen and surgeon at Amsterdam, and his wife, Judith Zinspinning, born in this town, both members of the Flemish Baptists' church there, were convinced of the truth preached by W. Ames ; she having before had immediate openings, that if ever she would become a child of God, she must give heed to this light, which reproved for sin. They, with two or three more, were the first orthodox Quakers in Amsterdam ; orthodox I say, because I very well remember what a strange and odd sort of people, about that time, did flock to the Quakers in this country. But these whimsical people not being sincere in heart ;

but more inclined to novelties than to true godliness ; perceived in time that they were not regarded by them : and they were also contradicted by Ames and others ; so that at length, after many exorbitancies, they left the Quakers.

In the forepart of this year, William Caton came also to Amsterdam. Before he left England, he had had a meeting at the east side of Sussex, on the day called Shrove Tuesday, where there had never been any of his friends before. But the people being on that day more rude than ordinary, came up to the house with a drum, in such a desperate manner, as if they would have pulled the house down. Caton stepping out, asked what they wanted ; they answered, Quakers ; at which he told them he was one. And he spoke so plainly to them, and with so much power, that fear falling upon them, they withdrew with shame and confusion.

Not long after he went to London, and from thence to Holland ; and being safely arrived at Rotterdam, he repaired to Amsterdam ; where he came in due time to stop the unruliness of some froward spirits, among which, one Anne Garghil, an English woman, was not one of the least ; whose rudeness grew in time to that degree, that she would not suffer W. Ames to preach peaceably in the meeting, but laid violent hands on him ; so that at length to be rid of her, he bade an English seaman that was present, to take her away, which was done accordingly : and how haughty she was, and continued, I well remember still. W. Caton procured also some books to be printed at Amsterdam, to prevent evil and malicious reports concerning the Quakers ; and he went with W. Ames to Zutphen in Guelderland ; where meeting with nothing but opposition, he returned to Amsterdam, and from thence by Leyden and the Hague, to Rotterdam ; from which place he went to Zealand, where he wrote the book called ‘ The Moderate Enquirer Resolved,’ both in Latin and English, which was afterwards translated indifferently into Dutch. After some stay, Caton returned again to England, and came to London, where the society of his friends was in a thriving condition, and many were added to the church.

In this city we left G. Fox : he wrote there several papers for the opening of the understandings of people, and for the edification of his friends. From thence he travelled into Kent, Sussex, and Surry ; and coming to Basingstoke, though the people were rude there, yet he had a quiet meeting in the place : in the inn he had some trouble with the innkeeper, who was a drunkard. Afterwards he came to Portsmouth, Exeter, Bristol, and into Wales, where many came to him. At Brecknock (where he was accompanied by Thomas Holmes, who, first of the Quakers in Wales, had preached the doctrine of the inward light ; and by John-ap-John, who three years before had been sent by a priest out of Wales into the North, to enquire what kind of people the Quakers

were) he had a great meeting in the steeple-house yard, where was a priest, and one Walter Jenkin, who had been a justice, and another justice. Here he preached so effectually, that many were convinced: and after the meeting, he went with Jenkin to the other justice's house, who said to him, 'You have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds.' At Leominster he had a great meeting, where priest Toms made some opposition, by saying, that the light G. Fox spoke of, was but a natural light: but G. Fox asserted the contrary, and said, that he had spoken of no other light than John bore witness unto, viz. "The word which was in the beginning with God, and which word was God; and that was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world."

G. Fox coming from this place to Tenby, as he rode in the street, a justice of peace came out and desired him to alight, and to stay at his house, which he did; and on the first-day of the week had a meeting there, whither the mayor and his wife, and several others of the chief of the town came. John-ap-John, who was then with G. Fox, left the meeting, and went to the steeple-house, and was by the governor cast into prison. The next morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's house, to fetch G. Fox; which grieved the mayor and the justice, and so they went up to the governor, and a while after G. Fox went with the officer, and coming in, said, 'Peace be unto this house;' and before the governor could examine him, he asked, why he had cast his friend into prison? And the governor answered, 'For standing with his hat on in the church.' 'Why?' resumed G. Fox, 'had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one, and a white one? And if the brim of the hat, which was but to defend from the weather, had been cut off, then my friend would have had but one cap.' 'These are frivolous things,' said the governor: 'Why then,' said G. Fox, 'dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?' Then the governor asked him, whether he owned election and reprobation; 'Yes,' said he, 'and thou art in the reprobation.' This so incensed the governor, that he told G. Fox, he would send him to prison, till he proved it. G. Fox not at all at a loss, said, 'I will prove that quickly, if thou wilt but confess truth:' and then he asked him, whether wrath, fury, and rage, and persecution, were not marks of reprobation? For he that was born of the flesh, persecuted him that was born of the Spirit: and Christ and his apostles never persecuted nor imprisoned any. This speech of his so struck the governor, that he fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, haste, and passion in him: which made G. Fox say, that Esau the first birth was up in him, not Jacob the second birth. By this the man was so reached, that he confessed to Truth, and

inviting G. Fox to dinner with him, he set his friend at liberty. It was with great satisfaction that G. Fox departed the town; and in several other places of Wales he had some singular occurrences, and though the people were rude, yet some were convinced.

At length he came to Lancaster, where, at the inn, he met with colonel West, who was very glad to see him. Next he came to Swarthmore, where he wrote some epistles and other papers. After having staid there some days, he went to some other places in the north, and to Scotland. Here, travelling from town to town, he met with great opposition from some priests: for in an assembly, they had drawn up several articles, or curses, to be read in their steeple-houses, the first of which was, 'Cursed is he that saith, every man hath a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation: and let all the people say, Amen.' An Independent pastor preaching one day against the Quakers, and the light, and calling the light natural, cursed it, and so fell down as dead in his pulpit: the people carrying him out, and pouring strong waters into him, it brought him to life again; but he was mopish, and, as one of his hearers said, he never recovered his senses.

In October G. Fox came to Edinburgh, where he was summoned to appear before the council, who though indifferent civil, yet told him, he must depart the nation of Scotland by that dayse vennight: against which he not only spoke, but wrote also. Whilst G. Fox was in Scotland, his friends there were brought to a great strait; for, being excommunicated by the Presbyterian teachers, charge was given, that none should buy or sell with them, nor eat nor drink with them. Hence it came to pass, that some having bought bread, or other victuals, of their neighbours, these frightened with the curses of their priests, did run, and fetch it from them again. But colonel Ashton, a justice of peace, put a stop to these proceedings, and being afterwards convinced of the Truth, had a meeting settled at his house, and declared the Truth, and lived and died in it.

G. Fox now travelled almost over all Scotland, and had in some places good opportunities to declare the gospel, being often heard with satisfaction by the English soldiers; but the Scotch generally gave little heed. He went also among the Highlanders, who were a mischievous people. Returning at length to Leith, the innkeeper told him, that the council had granted forth warrants to apprehend him, because he was not gone out of the nation after the seven days were expired, that they had ordered him to depart in. Some others told him the same, to whom he said, 'What do you tell me of their warrants against me? If there were a cart load of them I do not heed them; for the Lord's power is over them all.' From Leith he went to Edinburgh again, and went to the inn where he had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with him. Alexander Parker and Robert Widders

being also there, he resolved to go with Parker to Johnstown, out of which town some time before he had been led by soldiers ; and he came into Johnstown just as they were drawing up the bridges, the officers and soldiers never questioning him. And coming to captain Davenport's house, from which he had been haled before, he found there many officers, who lifting up their hands, wondered that he came again ; but he told them, the Lord God had sent him amongst them again. Then the Baptists sent him a letter, by way of challenge, that they would discourse with him the next day. And he sent them word, that he would meet them at a certain house, about half a mile out of the town, at such an hour. For he thought, if he should stay in town to speak with them, they might, under pretence of discoursing with him, have raised people to carry him out of the town again, as they had done before. At the time appointed he went to the place, captain Davenport and his son accompanying him ; and there he staid some hours, but none of them came ; whereby the intent of the Baptists was sufficiently discovered. Being thus disappointed, he went back again to Edinburgh, and passed through the town, as it were, against the cannon's mouth. The next day, being the first day of the week, he went to the meeting in the city, and many officers and soldiers came to it, and all was quiet. The following day he went to Dunbar, where, walking with a friend or two of his in the steeple-house yard, he met with one of the chief men of the town there ; and spoke to one of his friends to tell him, that about the ninth hour next morning, there was to be a meeting there, of the people of God, called Quakers, of which they desired him to give notice to the people of the town. To which he said, that they were to have a lecture there by the ninth hour ; but that a meeting might be kept there by the eighth hour, if they would. G. Fox thinking this not inconvenient, desired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning many came, both poor and rich ; and a captain of horse being quartered in the town, came there with his troopers also. To this company G. Fox preached, and after some time the priest came, and went into the steeple-house ; but G. Fox and his friend being in the steeple-house yard, most of the people staid with them ; so that the priest having but few hearers, made short work, and coming out, stood a while and heard G. Fox, and then went away. This was the last meeting he had in Scotland, and he understood afterwards, that his labour had not been in vain, but that the number of believers increased. Now he departed from Dunbar, and came to Berwick in Northumberland, and from thence to Newcastle, where we will leave him a while, and return again to New England.

We have seen before that a law was made there, to prevent the Quakers coming into that country. The first I find that came after that, were Anne Burden, a widow, whose business was to

gather up some debts in the country, that were due to her ; and Mary Dyer from Rhode Island, who, before her coming, knew nothing of what had been done there concerning the Quakers. These two were both imprisoned, which William Dyer, Mary's husband, hearing, came from Rhode Island, and did not get her released without a great deal of pains ; becoming bound in a great penalty, not to lodge her in any town of that colony, nor to permit any to speak with her : an evident token that he was not of the society of Quakers, so called, for otherwise he would not have entered into such a bond ; but then, without question, he would also have been clapped up in prison. As for Anne Burden, she was kept in prison, though sick, about a quarter of a year. Whilst she was in this restraint, some tender-hearted people had procured of her debts to the value of about thirty pounds in goods ; and when she at length was to be sent away, she desired that she might have liberty to pass for England, by Barbadoes, because her goods were not fit for England. Now how reasonable soever this request was, yet a master of a ship was compelled to carry her to England, without her goods, for which she came there, except to the value of about six shillings, which an honest man sent her upon an old account. And when the master of the ship asked who should pay for her passage, the magistrates bid him take so much of her goods as would answer it. But he was too honest to do so, being persuaded that she would not let him be a loser, though he could not compel her to pay, since she went not of her own will : yet for all that she paid him at London. After she was gone, when he that had the first trust from her husband, was to convey her goods to Barbadoes, these rapacious people stopped to the value of six pounds ten shillings for her passage, for which they paid nothing, and seven shillings for boat-hire to carry her on ship-board, though the master proffered the governor to carry her in his own boat, but that was not allowed ; she being sent with the hangman in a boat that was pressed : besides, they took to the value of fourteen shillings for the gaoler, to whom she owed nothing. Now, though this widow had made such a great voyage, to get something of what was due to her, to relieve her, and her fatherless children, yet after three years she had nothing of it come to her hands : and whether she got any thing since I never understood.

The next of the Quakers that came to Boston, was Mary Clark, who having left her husband John Clark, a merchant-taylor, with her children, at London, came thither to warn these persecutors to desist from their iniquity : but after she had delivered her message, she was unmercifully rewarded with twenty stripes of a whip with three cords, on her naked back, and detained prisoner about twelve weeks in the winter season. The cords of these

whips were commonly as thick as a man's little finger, having each some knots at the end ; and the stick was sometimes so long, that the hangman made use of both his hands to strike the harder.

The next that came were Christopher Holder and John Copeland, who had been banished before ; and coming to Salem, a town in the same colony, Holder spoke a few words in their meeting after the priest had done ; but was haled back by the hair of his head, and a glove and handkerchief thrust into his mouth, and so turned out with his companion ; and next day had to Boston, where each of them received thirty stripes with a knotted whip of three cords, the hangman measuring his ground, and fetching his strokes with the greatest strength he could : which so cruelly cut their flesh, that a woman seeing it fell down as dead. Then they were locked up in prison, and the gaoler kept them three days without any food, not giving them so much as a draught of water ; and so close that none might come to speak with them ; lying on the boards without bed or straw. Thus they were kept prisoners nine weeks without fire, in the cold winter season. And Samuel Shattock of Salem, who endeavoured to stop the thrusting of the glove and handkerchief into Holder's mouth, lest it should have choked him, was also carried to Boston, and there imprisoned, till he had given bond for twenty pounds, to answer it at the next court, and not to come to any meeting of the Quakers.

The career of this cruelty did not stop here ; for Lawrence Southick and his wife Cassandra, members of the public church at Salem, and an ancient and grave couple, having entertained the aforesaid C. Holder and J. Copeland, were committed to prison, and sent to Boston, where Lawrence being released, his wife was kept seven weeks prisoner, and then fined forty shillings for owning a paper of exhortation, written by the aforesaid Holder and Copeland.

The next that came from England, as being under a necessity from the Lord to come to this land of persecution, was Richard Dowdney, who was apprehended at Dedham, and brought to Boston, having never before been in that country ; yet he was not spared for all that, but thirty stripes were also given him in like manner as the former. And after twenty days' imprisonment, he was sent away with Holder and Copeland ; after having been threatened with cutting off their ears, if they returned. These cruel dealings, so affected many inhabitants, that some withdrew from the public assemblies, and meeting by themselves quietly on the first-days of the week, they were fined five shillings a week, and committed to prison. The first whose lot this was, were the aforesaid Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, and their son Josiah, who being carried to Boston, were all of them, notwithstanding the old age of the two, sent to the house of correction, and whipped

with cords, as those before, in the coldest season of the year, and had taken from them to the value of four pounds thirteen shillings, for not coming to church.

Leaving New England for a while, I will turn another way. It was in this year, about the latter end of the summer, that a certain young man, named George Robinson, felt a motion to travel to Jerusalem. In order thereunto, he embarked in a ship bound for Leghorn in Italy, where having staid about two weeks, being daily visited by English, and others, he went with a French ship towards St. John d'Acra, formerly called Ptolemais, a city in Asia, bordering upon the Mediterranean sea, near Palestine, where, having lodged about eight days in a French merchant's house, he embarked in a vessel bound for Japha, or Joppe. What occurred by the way with some Turks, who demanded unreasonable tribute of him, I pass by ; but a certain Armenian on that occasion having seen his meek behaviour, said, he was a good Christian, and was very kind to him. Being arrived at Japha, he went to Ramoth, but the friars at Jerusalem having heard of his coming, gave orders to some to stop him, which was done accordingly ; and after having been locked up about a day, there came an ancient Turk, a man of great repute, who took him into his house, and courteously entertained him. After four or five days there came an Irish friar from Jerusalem, with whom falling into discourse of religious matters, the friar at first behaved himself kindly, but told him afterwards, that was not the business he came about, but that he was sent from his brethren, the friars, at Jerusalem, to propound to him some questions.

1. Whether he would promise, when he came to Jerusalem, that he would visit the holy places as other pilgrims did ?

2. Whether he would pay as much money as pilgrims used to do ?

3. Whether he would wear such a sort of habit as was usual with pilgrims ?

4. That he must speak nothing against the Turks' laws.

5. And when he came to Jerusalem, not speak any thing about religion.

Not being willing to enter into a promise, he was by the Irish friar (with a guard of horse and footmen he brought with him from Jerusalem) carried back to Japha, and embarked in a vessel bound for St. John d'Acra : whither being come, a French merchant, called Surrubi, took him into his house, and lodged him about three weeks. This man entertained him very kindly, and would say sometimes, that it was the Lord's doings ; ' For,' said he, ' when my own countrymen come to me, they are little to me, but thee I can wil-

lingly receive. After much trouble, Robinson got opportunity (by the help of the said French merchant, who was an ancient man,) to return by sea to Japha; from whence he went on his journey a foot, and by the way met three men, two of them riding upon asses, and the other going a foot; and they asking him for money, one held his gun to his breast, and another put his hand into his pockets, and took some things out. He suffering all this without any opposition, the man that took his things from him put them up again; and one of the three taking him by the hand, led him a little on his way, in a friendly manner, and so left him. At length Robinson came to Ramoth, where he was presently known, and two that belonged to the friars laid hold on him, and hurried him away; but two Turks took him from them, and one leading him by one arm, and the other by the other, they brought him into a mosque, or Turkish temple. Thus innocently entering there, many people came flocking in, and also some of the Mahometan priests, who having caused him to sit down, asked him, whether he would turn to the Mahometan religion? But he refusing, they pressed him much, made great promises, and said that he had no need to fear what the Christians might do unto him. Nevertheless, he answered he could not turn unto them for all the world. But they continued to strive much with him, and would have him hold up one of his fingers, as a sign of owning them; and one bid him say, 'Christ is bad;' but he answered, he knew him to be good, and he was his servant. Then some growing angry, said, if he would not turn to their religion, he should die. To which he replying that he would rather die than turn unto them; it was answered, he should then die. And so by their order, the executioner haled him away to the place where it was expected that he should have been burnt to death with camel's dung. Here he was made to sit down upon the ground, and was as a sheep among wolves. Whilst he was thus sitting with a retired mind, the Turks began to fall out among themselves, and whilst they were at odds, a grave ancient Turk, a man of note, came to him, and said whether he would turn from his religion or not, he should not die. Then he was brought before the priests again, who asked him, 'Will you turn?' And he answering, 'No,' they recorded in a book, that he was no Roman Catholic, but of another religion; for though he denied to be such a Catholic, yet he had owned that he was a Christian.

The Turks coming now to be more sedate, the aforesaid ancient man ordered his servants to conduct Robinson to his house, where he was friendly entertained, and soon perceived that the friars had thus plotted against him; for he went not into the mosque of his own accord, being led into it; but heaven preserved him. After having been four or five days in the house of the ancient Turk,

there came a guard of horsemen, hired by the friars, to carry him to Gaza; for they had preinformed the basha of that place against him: but Robinson being come thither, things took another turn than they expected; for the basha being by some Turks made acquainted with the mischievous design of the friars, made them not only pay a considerable fine, but also commanded them to convey Robinson safely to Jerusalem. Whilst he was at Gaza, he was visited by many Turks, Greeks, and Armenians; the latter of which having heard he was a Christian, and that he chose rather to die than to turn from his religion, became very loving, as were the Turks, the Jews also showed themselves moderate towards him. Then, according to the afore-mentioned order of the basha, he was carried to Jerusalem, and there, by the appointment of their friars, brought into their convent, where at first they seemingly showed love unto him, and one confessed, there was now an evident sign, that he was a good Christian, for he was come through persecution and sufferings; and those things which had been spoken in his prejudice, were manifest to be untrue. Robinson told the friar, it was he and his brethren that had been the cause of his sufferings, and withstood his coming to Jerusalem. To which the other returned, that the English friar had misinformed them by his writing, which had caused them to do what they had done; and that therefore they desired he would now pass by those things, seeing he was come through in such a miraculous manner; for (continued the friar) it was the Lord's work, thus to carry him through, and he might praise God he was preserved.

The next morning a friar came to him, and asked if he would become an obedient child, and go to visit the holy places, according to their custom: he answered, 'No.' Then the friar said, 'Whereas others give great sums of money to see them, you shall see them for nothing.' But Robinson replied, 'I shall not visit them in your manner, for in so doing I should sin against God.' This did not please the friar, yet he said they would honour him as much as ever they honoured any Englishman that came thither, if he would conform unto them. But Robinson continued immovable, and said he should not conform; and as for their honour, he did not matter it. Then the friar became angry, and said they would make him an example to all Englishmen that came thither. To which Robinson returned, 'I choose your dishonour rather than your honour.' The friar seeing he could not prevail, went away in anger, and within a short time came again; and other friars being present, one asked if he would visit their church, and the holy sepulchre, and Bethlehem, with the rest of the holy places, as other pilgrims did? But he told them, at present he had no business to visit them; and in their manner he should not visit them at all, viz. to worship them. Then one said to him, 'How can you be a servant of God, and

will not go to visit the places where the holy men of God dwelt?' To which he returned, that they under pretence of doing service to God, in visiting the places where the holy men dwelt did oppose that way, and resist that life, which the holy men of God lived and walked in. Then one of the friars said, 'What do you preach unto us for?' To which he replied, that he would have them turn from those evil practices they lived in, else the wrath of the Almighty would be kindled against them. But they did not at all like such discourse, and therefore said, if he would not go and visit the aforesaid places, yet he must give twenty-five dollars, as was the manner of those that visited them; for, said they, the Turks must be paid, whether he would visit them or not; but if he would visit them, then they would pay it for him. To this he signified, that he could not submit to such unreasonable terms.

Then they brought him before a Turk in authority in that place, who asked him divers questions, to which he soberly gave answers; and they discoursing about the worship of the Christians, the Turk asked also, what was the ground of his coming to Jerusalem. To which he answered, that it was by the command of the Lord God of heaven and earth he came thither; and that the great and tender love of God was made manifest in visiting them; his compassionate mercies being such, that he would gather them in this the day of his gathering. This was the message which Robinson believed he had from the Lord to declare unto them, whether they would hear, or forbear. And afterwards he wrote, that having thus cleared his conscience, he found great peace with the Lord, and therefore he magnified his glorious name, who had gone along with him, and preserved him in many trials. For the friars, who intended him mischief, were commanded by the Turks to carry him again safe and free of charges, to Ramla. Here I leave him, because I do not find how he came home; but that he returned thither in safety, appears to me from the relation he afterwards published of his travels.

The year being come to an end, I return again to G. Fox, whom we left at Newcastle. Whilst he was there, he, with Anthony Pearson, visited some of the aldermen; and among these one Ledger, who as well as the priests, had said the Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the fields like butterflies. G. Fox desired to have a meeting amongst them; but they would not yield it. He therefore asked Ledger, whether they had not called his friends butterflies, and said they would not come into any great towns? 'But,' said he, 'now we are come into your town, you will not come to us: who are the butterflies now?' Then Ledger began to plead for the sabbath-day; which made G. Fox say, they kept markets on that which was the sabbath-day, for that was the seventh day of the week; whereas that day

which the professed Christians now meet on, and call their sabbath, was the first day of the week. No leave for a public meeting being obtained, G. Fox got a little meeting among his friends, and some friendly people at Gateside.

Travelling from thence, and passing through Northumberland, and Bishoprick, he came to Durham, where was a man come down from London, to set up a college there, to make ministers of Christ, as they said. G. Fox entering into discourse with this man, said that to teach men Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the seven arts, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ; for the languages began at Babel; and to the Greeks that spake Greek as their mother-tongue, the preaching of the cross of Christ was foolishness; and to the Jews that spake Hebrew as their mother-tongue, Christ was a stumbling-block. And as for the Romans who spake Latin, they persecuted the Christians; and Pilate, one of the Roman governors, set Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a top of Christ when he crucified him. Thus the languages, which began at Babel, had been set above Christ, the word. And John the divine, who preached the word, that was in the beginning, said that the beast and the whore had power over tongues and languages, and they were as waters, and in the mystery Babylon, for they began at Babel; and the persecutors of Christ set them over him, when he was crucified by them. 'Dost thou think,' said G. Fox to the man, 'to make ministers of Christ by these natural confused languages, which sprang from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and set a top of Christ, the life, by a persecutor?' The man, puzzled a little by this, confessed to many things spoken by G. Fox. Then it was showed him further, that Christ made his ministers himself, and gave gifts unto them, and bid them pray to the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers: that Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant as to school-learning, preached Christ the word, which was in the beginning before Babel was: and that Paul also was made an apostle, not of man, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, who is the same now, and so is his gospel, as it was at that day. This discourse had such effect upon the man, that he became very loving; and having considered the matter further, he never set up his intended college.

From Durham G. Fox passed to Nottingham, where he gathered again a scattered people, that having about eight years before been convinced of the truth, had been led aside by one Rice Jones.

From hence he went into Warwickshire, and passing through Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, he came into Bedfordshire, and so to John Crook's house, where a general Yearly Meeting was appointed, which lasted three days; and many of G. Fox's friends from most parts of the nation came to it, so that the inns

in the towns thereabouts were filled. Here was also William Caton, who after the meeting was ended, went with Thomas Salt-house, formerly his fellow-servant in the house of judge Fell, to Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Swarthmore in Lancashire. In the said general meeting G. Fox made a long speech concerning the several states of man, but more especially for instruction of the ministers of the word, exhorting them at large to be circumspect in their station.

After the meeting was over, there came a party of horse with a constable, to seize upon G. Fox, who then was walking in J. Crook's garden: and though somebody, when they came to the house, had told them G. Fox was there, yet they were so confounded, that they came not into the garden to look for him, but went away without him.

Parting from thence, he came to London, where he heard that a Jesuit who was come over with an ambassador from Spain, had challenged all the Quakers, to dispute with them at the earl of Newport's house. G. Fox then let him know by some of his friends, that they would meet him: whereupon the Jesuit sent word, he would meet with twelve of the wisest learned men they had. A while after he sent word, he would meet with but six; and after that, he sent word again, he would have but three to come. Then G. Fox went, with Edward Burrough, and one Nicholas Bond, to the aforesaid house, and bade them to go up, and enter the discourse with the Jesuit, whilst he would be walking in the yard, and then come up after them. He had advised them to state this question, whether the church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true church which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and spirit that those believers were in? They having stated the question accordingly, the Jesuit affirmed, that the church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church. By this time G. Fox being come in, the Jesuit was asked, whether they had the Holy Ghost poured out upon them, as the apostles had? And he said, 'No.' Then said G. Fox, 'if ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and spirit that the apostles had, then ye are degenerated from the power and spirit, which the primitive church was in.' And he asked the Jesuit, what Scripture they had for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbeyes and monasteries for men, and for their praying by beads and to images, and for making crosses, for forbidding of meats and marriages, and for putting people to death for religion. 'If,' said he, 'ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by Scripture, wherever they practised such things?' For it was agreed mutually, that both the Jesuit and the Quakers, should make good by Scripture what they said. Then the Jesuit said, there

was a written, and an unwritten word. Which made G. Fox ask, what he called his unwritten word? And he answered, 'The written word is the Scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apostles spake by word of mouth, which are all those traditions that we practise.' Then G. Fox bid him prove that by Scripture; and the Jesuit alleged the words of the apostle, 2 Thess. ii. 5. "When I was with you, I told you these things:" 'That is,' said he, 'I told you of nunneries and monasteries, of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads and to images,' &c. This he affirmed to be the unwritten word of the apostles, which they told them, and had since been continued by tradition, unto these times. Then G. Fox desired him to read that Scripture again, that he might see how he had perverted the apostle's words, since that which the apostle said there he had told them before, was not an unwritten word, but was written down there; namely, that the man of sin, the son of perdition, should be revealed before that great and terrible day of Christ, which he was writing of, should come. And therefore this was not telling them any of those things the church of Rome practised. Besides, the apostle in the third chapter of the said epistle told the church of some disorderly persons he heard were amongst them, busy bodies, who did not work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was among them, that if any would not work, neither should he eat; which now he commanded them again in his written words in this epistle, 2 Thess. iii.

The Jesuit now finding no other scriptural proof for the tradition of the church of Rome, let that point fall, and came to the sacrament of the altar, to prove the reality of which, he began with the paschal lamb, and the shew bread, and so came to the words of Christ, "This is my body," and to what the apostle wrote to the Corinthians, concluding from thence, that after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and divine, and that he who received it, received the whole Christ. To this G. Fox said, that the same apostle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, that they were reprobates if Christ was not in them. But that if the bread they eat was Christ, he must of necessity have been in them, after they had eaten it. Besides, if the bread and wine which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Christ's body, how then (continued he) hath Christ a body in heaven? And he also signified to him, that both the disciples at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards were to eat the bread and drink the wine in remembrance of Christ, and to show forth his death till he came; which plainly proved that the bread and wine which they took, was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then he had been come, and was then there present;

and it would have been improper to have done such a thing in remembrance of him, if he had been then present with them ; as he must have been, if that bread and wine, which they ate and drank, had been his real body. And as to the words of Christ, "This is my body," G. Fox told him, 'Christ calls himself a vine and a door, and is called in Scripture a rock : is Christ therefore an outward rock, door, or vine ?' 'O, said the Jesuit, these words are to be interpreted.' 'So,' said G. Fox, 'are those words of Christ,' "This is my body." And having thus stopped the Jesuit's mouth, he made this proposal : that, seeing he said the bread and wine was immortal and divine, and the very Christ, and that whosoever received it, received the whole Christ ; a meeting might be appointed between some such Papists as the pope and his cardinals should appoint, and some of those called Quakers : 'And then,' said he, 'let a bottle of wine, and a loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they will ; and then let the consecrated and unconsecrated bread and wine be set in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it ; and let trial then be made, whether the consecrated bread and wine will not lose its goodness, viz. the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead and sour, as well and as soon as that which was unconsecrated ; for by this means the truth of this matter may be made manifest. And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their flavour and goodness, this may be a means to draw many to your church. But if they change, decay, and lose their goodness, then ought you to confess and forsake your error, and shed no more blood about it, as hath been done, especially in queen Mary's days.' To this the Jesuit made this reply : 'Take a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon king David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment shall wear away as well as the other.' 'Is this,' said G. Fox, 'thy answer ?' 'Yes,' said the Jesuit. 'Then,' said G. Fox, 'by this the company may all be satisfied, that your consecrated bread and wine is not Christ. Dost thou now say, that the consecrated bread and wine, which you have told people was immortal and divine, and the real body and blood of Christ, will wear away, or decay as well as the other ? Then I must tell thee, Christ remains the same to-day as yesterday, and never decays ; but is the saints' heavenly food in all generations, through which they have life.' To this the Jesuit replied no more, but let the thing fall ; for he perceived that those which were present saw his error, and that he could not defend it.

Then G. Fox asked him, why the church of Rome did persecute, and put people to death for religion ? and he answered, it was not the church did it, but the magistrates. G. Fox asked, whether those magistrates were not counted and called believers

and Christians? 'Yes,' said he. 'Are they not members of your church?' asked G. Fox. 'Yes,' said the Jesuit. Then G. Fox left it to the people to judge, whether the church of Rome did not persecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus they parted; the Jesuit's subtilty being comprehended by the simplicity of G. Fox, and his friends.

Whilst G. Fox was at London, his friends both in England and Ireland, were under great sufferings, which made him write to the protector about it: and there being then much talk of making Cromwell king, he went to him, and warned him against it, because of the dangers that would attend it; and which, if he did not avoid, would bring shame and ruin upon him and his posterity. Which counsel Cromwell seemed to take well, and thanked him for it: yet G. Fox wrote also concerning the same thing to him in this manner:

'O Protector,

'Who hast tasted of the power of God, which many generations before thee have not so much, since the days of apostacy from the apostles, take heed that thou lose not thy power; but keep kingship off thy head, which the world would give to thee; and earthly crowns under thy feet, lest with that thou cover thyself, and so lose the power of God. When the children of Israel went from that of God in them, they would have kings as other nations had, as transgressors had; and so God gave them one; and what did they do then? and when they would have taken Christ, and made him a king, he hid himself from them; he was hid from that which would have made him a king, he who was the king of the Jews inward. O Oliver, take heed of undoing thyself, by running into things that will fade, the things of this world that will change. Be subject and obedient to the Lord God.

'George Fox.'

About this time G. Fox wrote also another letter to O. Cromwell, wherein he signified to him, that if he had been faithful, and thundered down deceit, he would yet have done many mighty things. And he also advised him, not to slight sober men and true hearts; but to mind the law of God, and his fear and dread; to take heed of flatteries, and to prize his time now he had it.

The lady Claypole, Cromwell's most beloved daughter, being sick, and much troubled in mind, so that none that came could administer any comfort to her, G. Fox visited her with the following letter:

'Friend,

'Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God, to turn

thy mind to the Lord God, from whom life comes ; whereby thou mayest receive his strength, and power to allay all blustering storms and tempests. That is it which works up into patience, into innocency, into soberness, into stillness, into stayedness, into quietness, up to God with his power. Therefore mind, that is the word of the Lord unto thee, that the authority of God thou mayest feel, and thy faith in that, to work down that which troubles thee : for that is it which keeps peace, and brings up the witness in thee, which hath been transgressed, to feel after God with his power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When thou art in the transgression of the life of God in thy own particular, the mind flies up in the air, and the creature is led into the night, and nature goes out of its course, and an old garment goes on, and an uppermost clothing ; and thy nature being led out of its course, it comes to be all on a fire, in the transgression ; and that defaceth the glory of the first body. Therefore be still awhile from thy own thoughts, searching, seeking, desires, and imaginations, and be stayed in the principle of God in thee, that it may raise thy mind up to God, and stay it upon God, and thou wilt find strength from him, and find him to be a God at hand, a present help in the time of trouble, and of need. And thou being come to the principle of God, which hath been transgressed, it will keep thee humble ; and the humble, God will teach his way, which is peace, and such he doth exalt. Now as the principle of God in thee hath been transgressed, come to it, that it may keep thy mind down low to the Lord God ; and deny thyself, and from thy own will, that is the earthly, thou must be kept : then thou wilt feel the power of God, which will bring nature into its course, and give thee to see the glory of the first body. And there the wisdom of God will be received (which is Christ, by which all things were made and created). to be thereby preserved and ordered to God's glory. There thou wilt come to receive and feel the Physician of value, who clothes people in their right mind, whereby they may serve God, and do his will. For all distractions, unruliness, and confusion, is in the transgression : which transgression must be brought down, before the principle of God, which hath been transgressed against, be lifted up ; whereby the mind may be seasoned and stilled, and a right understanding of the Lord may be received, whereby his blessings enter, and are felt, over all that is contrary, in the power of the Lord God, which raiseth up the principle of God within, and gives a feeling after God, and in time gives dominion. Therefore keep in the fear of the Lord God ; that is the word of the Lord God unto thee ; for all these things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of those concerned for thee, to make you know yourselves, and your own weakness, and that ye may know the Lord's strength and power, and may trust in him. Therefore let the time that is past be sufficient to every one, who

in any thing hath been lifted up in transgression, out of the power of the Lord: for he can bring down and abase the mighty, and lay them in the dust of the earth. Therefore, all keep low in his fear, that thereby ye may receive the secrets of God and his wisdom, and may know the shadow of the Almighty, and sit under it in all tempests, storms, and heats. For God is a God at hand, and the Most High rules in the children of men. So then, this is the word of the Lord God unto you all, What the light doth make manifest and discover, as temptations, distractions, confusions, do not look at the temptations, confusions, corruptions, but at the light which discovers them, and makes them manifest. And with the same light you may feel over them, to receive power to stand against them. The same light which lets you see sin and transgression, will let you see the covenant of God, which blots out your sin and transgression, which gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at sin, and corruption, and distraction, ye are swallowed up in it: but looking at the light which discovers them, ye will see over them: that will give victory, and ye will find grace and strength; and there is the first step to peace. That will bring salvation, and by it ye may see to the beginning, and the glory that was with the Father before the world began; and so come to know the seed of God, which is the heir of the promise of God, and of the world which hath no end, and which bruises the head of the serpent, who stops people from coming to God. That ye may feel the power of an endless life, the power of God, which is immortal, which brings the immortal soul up to the immortal God, in whom it doth rejoice. So in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty strengthen thee. 'G. F.'

The paper being read to the aforesaid lady, it staid her mind somewhat; but she lived not long after, so that O. Cromwell met with almost continual trouble: for discontent against him increased more and more.

Now since the Protestants in the valley of Lucern, and elsewhere, were much persecuted, there came forth a declaration from the protector to keep a fast, and one also for a collection for the relief of distressed Protestant churches. On this occasion, G. Fox to show what kind of fast it was that God requires and accepts, wrote the following paper:

To the heads and governors of this nation, who have put forth a declaration, for the keeping of a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, for the persecution (as you say) of divers people beyond the seas, professing the reformed religion, which (ye say) hath been transmitted unto them from their ancestors.

'A profession of the reformed religion may be transmitted to

generations, and so holden by tradition ; and in that, wherein the profession and tradition is holden, is the day of humiliation kept ; which stands in the will of man, which is not the fast that the Lord requires, to bow down the head like a bulrush for a day, and the day following be in the same condition as they were the day before. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences do I speak, which testifieth for God every day, and witnesseth against all sin and persecution ; which measure of God, if ye be guided by it, doth not limit God to a day, but leads to the fast which the Lord requires, which is “To loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.” Isa. lviii. 6, 7. This is the fast the Lord requires ; and this stands not in the transmission of times, nor in the traditions of men : but this stands in that which was before times were, and which leads out of time, and shall be, when time shall be no more. And these that teach for doctrine the commandments of men, are they that ever persecuted the life and power when it came. And whereas ye mention a decree, or edict, that was made against the said persecuted Protestants ; all such decrees, or edicts, proceed from the ground of the pope’s religion and supremacy ; and therein stands his tyranny and cruelty, acted in that will, which is in that nature, which exerciseth lordship, over one another, (as you may read, Mark x. 42. Luke xxii. 25,) as all the heathen do, and ever did ; and in the heathenish nature is all the tyranny and persecution exercised, by them that are out of the obedience to the light of Christ Jesus in the conscience, which is the guider and leader of all who are tender of that of God in the conscience. But who are not led by this, know not what it is to suffer for conscience-sake.

‘ Now, whereas ye take into your consideration the sad persecution, tyranny, and cruelty exercised upon them, whom ye call your Protestant brethren, and do contribute and administer to their wants outwardly ; this is good in its place, and we own it, and see it good to administer to the necessities of others, and to do good to all ; and we who are sufferers by a law derived from the pope, are willing to join, and to contribute with you, to their outward necessities. “For the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof ;” who is good to all, and gracious to all, and willing that all should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. But in the meantime, while ye are doing this, and taking notice of others’ cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, turn your eye upon yourselves, and see what ye are doing at home. To the light of Christ Jesus in all your consciences I speak, which cannot lie, nor cannot err, nor cannot bear false witness ; but doth bear witness for God, and cries for equity, and justice, and righteousness to be executed. See what ye are doing who profess the Scriptures, which were given forth by the saints in

light, who dwelt in the light and in the life of them. For them who do now witness the same light, the same life, and the same power, which gave forth the Scriptures, which ye in words profess, them ye persecute, them ye hale out of your synagogues and markets; them ye beat, stock, and imprison. Now let that of God in your consciences, which is just, and righteous, and equal, examine and try, whether ye have any example or precedent to exercise this persecution, which now many in this nation suffer under, who are a people harmless and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though ye account the way of truth they walk in, heresy; yet therein do they exercise themselves to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and man, as ye may read the saints of old did, (Acts xxiv. 14, 15, 16,) not wronging any man, neither giving any just cause of offence; only being obedient to the commands of the Lord, to declare, as they are moved by the Holy Ghost; and standing for the testimony of a good conscience, speaking the truth in Christ, their consciences bearing them witness that they lie not: for this do they suffer under you, who in words profess the same thing for which they suffer.

‘ Now see if any age or generation did ever persecute as ye do: for ye profess Christ Jesus who reveals the Father, and persecute them that witness the revelation of the Father by Christ Jesus unto them. Ye profess Christ Jesus, who is the light of the world, “that enlightens every one that cometh into the world;” and yet persecute them that bear witness, and give testimony to this light. Ye profess that the word is become flesh; and yet persecute them that witness it so. Ye profess, that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is an antichrist; and yet persecute them that do confess him come in the flesh, and call them antichrists and deceivers. Ye profess that the kingdom of Christ is come; and yet persecute them that witness it come. Ye profess Christ Jesus the resurrection and the life; and yet persecute them that witness him to be so. If ye say, ‘How shall we know that these people who say they witness these things, do so, or no?’ I answer, turn your minds to the light which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and if ye walk in the light, ye shall have the light of life, and then ye will know and see what ye have done, who have persecuted the Lord of glory (in his people) in whom is life, and the life is the light of men. To no other touchstone shall we turn you, but into your own consciences, and there shall ye find the truth of what we have declared unto you, and of what we bear testimony to, according to the Holy Scriptures. And when the books of consciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then shall ye witness us to be of God, and our testimony to be true, though now ye may stop your ears, and harden your hearts,

“while it is called to-day.” But then ye shall know what ye have done, and whom you have transgressed against; and then ye will see that no persecutors in any age or generation that ever went before you, did ever transgress against that light and measure of God made manifest, in such a manner as ye have done. For though Christ and the apostles were persecuted in their times, the Jews, for the most part of them, did not know that he was the Christ, when he came, notwithstanding that they had the Scriptures, which prophesied of him; neither did they believe that he was risen again, when the apostles preached his resurrection. But ye say, ye believe he is come; and ye say, ye believe his resurrection, and yet ye persecute those that witness him come in the flesh, those that are buried with him in baptism, those that are conformable to his death, and know the power of his resurrection; those ye persecute, those ye hale before magistrates, and suffer to be beaten in your synagogues; those ye cause to be whipped and stocked, and shamefully entreated, and into prison cast, and kept; as many gaols in this nation, at this day testify to your faces.

‘Therefore honestly consider what ye are doing, while ye are taking notice of other cruelties, lest ye overlook your own. There is some difference in many things between the Popish religion, and that which ye call the Protestant: but in this persecution of yours there is no difference: for ye will confess, that the foundation your religion is grounded upon the Scriptures; and yet now ye are persecuting those, that be in the same life which they were in, who spake forth the Scriptures; yourselves being the meanwhile under a profession of the words they spake: and this ye shall one day witness. So ye have a profession and form, and persecute them that are in the possession, life, and power. Therefore know assuredly, that ye must come to judgment; for he is made manifest to whom all judgment is committed. Therefore to the light of Jesus Christ in your consciences, which searcheth and trieth you, turn your minds, and stand still, and wait there to receive the righteous law, which is according to that of God in the conscience, which is now rising, and is bearing witness against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men; and they whom ye persecute, are manifest to God, and that of God in all consciences shall bear witness for us, that we are of God: and this ye shall one day witness, whether ye will hear, or forbear. Our rejoicing is in the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity (not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God), we have had our conversation in the world; not handling the word of God deceitfully, but, in the manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God; and if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost: and for the witnessing the holding of the mystery of faith in a pure con-

science, do we suffer, and are subject for conscience-sake. This is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience-sake endure griefs and suffering wrongfully. And in this is our joy and rejoicing, having a good conscience, that whereas we are evil spoken of, as evil doers, they may be ashamed, that falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ; which is not only the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this we witness made manifest (eternal praises to the living God) and bear testimony to that which spake it in the apostle in life and power: and therefore do we bear witness, and testify against those, who being got into a form and profession of it, do persecute the life and power.

‘Therefore to the eternal light of Christ Jesus, the searcher and trier of all hearts, turn your minds, and see what ye are doing, lest ye overturn your foundation and bottom whereon ye pretend to stand, while ye are professing the Scriptures, and persecuting the life, light, and power, which they were in, who gave them forth. For the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, is now striking at the feet of the image, the profession which is set up, and stands in the will of man. Now is that made manifest unto which all must answer, and appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every one may receive the thing done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men; but we are made manifest unto God, and shall be made manifest in all your consciences, which ye shall witness.

‘G. F.’

Divers times when a fast was proclaimed, G. Fox wrote on that subject; and since commonly some mischief was then contrived against the Quakers, no wonder that he would say, that these fasts were like unto Jezebel’s.

Many of his friends being at this time in prisons and dungeons, several others of them went to the parliament, and offered to lie in the same prisons where their brethren lay; that so those that were in prison, might not perish in stinking dungeons, and their persecutors thereby bring innocent blood upon their own heads. But this could not be obtained: for some of the parliament would threaten these compassionate men that thus attended them, with whipping, if they did not desist. And because the parliament then sitting, consisted mostly of such who, pretending to be more religious than others, were indeed great persecutors of those that were truly religious, G. Fox could not let this hypocrisy go unproved, but wrote the following lines to them:

‘O friends, do not cloke and cover yourselves; there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He seeth

your way: "Woe be to him that covereth, but not with my Spirit," saith the Lord. Do ye contrary to the law, and then put it from you? Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what was spoken against such: my Saviour spake against such: "I was sick, and ye visited me not, I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; I was in prison, and ye visited me not." But they said, "When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee?" "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me." Friends, ye prison them that be in the life and power of Truth, and yet profess to be the ministers of Christ: but if Christ had sent you, ye would bring out of prison, and out of bondage, and receive strangers. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter: ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.

‘ G. F.’

It was not G. Fox alone who was grieved with the said hypocrisy, but others of his friends also declared zealously against it. A certain woman came once into the parliament with a pitcher in her hand, which she breaking before them, told them, so should they be broken to pieces; which came to pass not long after. And because, when the great sufferings of G. Fox's friends were laid before O. Cromwell, he would not believe it, this gave occasion to Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson, to go through all, or most of the gaols in England, and get copies of their friends' commitment under the gaolers' hands, to lay the weight of the said sufferings upon O. Cromwell, which was done; but he, unwilling to give order for their release, Thomas Aldam took his cap from off his head, and tearing it to pieces, said to him, 'So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house.'

About the beginning of this year, E. Burrough wrote a letter to O. Cromwell, and his council, complaining of and warning them against persecution, as being what would draw down God's anger against them.

Several copies of the said letter were delivered to Oliver, and his council: and some months after E. Burrough wrote the following letter to him.

To the Protector.

‘ Friend,

‘ The salutation of my life wisheth well unto thee in the Lord, and most especially that thy precious soul may be redeemed out of death to God, and live, that thou mayest have a rest and habitation in him, when this world is no more.

‘ Now whereas it is a general outcry among the teachers and people of this nation, and also is doubted, and hath been some-

times objected by thyself, that the people called Quakers, are deluded and deceived, and in error, and such like : and now, if it be possible, that thyself and others may be resolved concerning us ; put therefore all thy objection and doubtings into plain positions, or let the wisest of thy teachers do it for thee ; and whatsoever thyself, or any for thee, can object against us, or what thou doubttest of, or stumblest at, either in respect of our doctrines or practice, let the matter be stated in plain words, in positions, or queries ; and if God permit, a sufficient answer thou mayest receive, to remove all conscientious scruples, and to confound all subtle allegements and evasions ; whereby hereafter forever thou mayest be altogether inexcusable of all doubting, or speaking against us, or suffering evil to be done, or spoken against us upon that account. And this am I moved to give forth, and send to thee, that thou mayest be satisfied ; and all things tried and made manifest in the sight of all men ; and that all rash judgment, and false supposition, which lodgeth in the hearts of many, may be confounded and brought to nought ; and let it be left off, to cry out deceivers, and heresy, &c. and causing any to suffer on suspicion thereupon ; but bring all things to light, and true judgment ; that what is proved to be the Truth may be owned, and not persecuted any more ; for we are willing to be made manifest to all men ; and if any thing be objected against us, which may not be sufficiently answered, and resolved to sober men, then our enemies are more free, and have whereof to glory in against us ; but and if all occasion of stumbling be removed by answers, according to the Scriptures, and our principles, practices, and doctrines thereby vindicated, then let all the teachers, and all our adversaries, shut their mouths from biting at us, and railing against us, and accusing of us to thee ; and let thy ear be shut from believing lies against the innocent ; and let none suffer in thy dominion under the cruelty of men, upon such a ground. Hereof I shall be glad to receive an answer, and to join issue in this cause ; and in the mean time, and always, am a lover of thy soul, but a witness against all oppression.

‘ E. B.’

This was delivered to his hands at
Hampton Court, in the fourth
month, 1658.

I never understood that any thing of moment followed upon this : but about two months after he wrote another letter to Cromwell, which was delivered to him at Hampton Court, in the sixth month.

To the Protector.

‘ Friend,

‘ Know that there is a God that doth whatsoever he will. All power is in his hand, and he bringeth to pass the council of his

own heart, and he rules in the kingdoms of men, and bringeth down and setteth up: he killeth and maketh alive: and he changeth times, and seasons, and governments, and bringeth to nought the counsels of men; for all power in earth and in heaven is in him, and all his doings are right, and his ways are equal; and thou and all mankind are as clay in the hand of the potter, he can honour and exalt as he pleaseth, and he can mar, and break to pieces, and dishonour whensoever he will; wherefore be humble, and low in heart before him, for he is the highest power, that subdueth all things under his feet. If he wound, who can heal? And if he kill, there is none can make alive; and know thou, it is the Lord God Almighty that doth this, in whose hands are the issues of life and death; and he it is who can break thee down, and build thee up; who can wound thee, and restore thee; and bring thee to destruction, and say unto thee return; and to know him that doth this, belongs to thy eternal peace.

‘Be thou faithful in what the Lord calleth thee to, and thou shalt have thy reward; and seek his honour, and he will honour thee; and let thy mind be to the Lord in all things, and feel his word, and power, and presence in thee, to quench all that which is contrary, and then thou wilt be blessed in this life, and in the life to come; but if thou continuest in thy oppression, the Lord will suddenly smite thee.

‘By a friend unto thee in the Lord,

‘E. B.

That the Lord, according to this prediction, did suddenly smite Cromwell, time verified; for he lived but about a month after the receipt of the said letter. That E. Burrough tenderly loved him, appears to me from several circumstances: and the ardent desire he had for his eternal welfare, occasioned this plain language to him.

G. Fox also wrote to him, that it was not improbable, that because of his wickedness, the Lord might once raise the royalists against him, to be instruments of executing his wrath; as once Cromwell himself had been an instrument to their overthrow. And a very short time before his death, G. Fox went to Hampton Court, to speak with him about the sufferings of his friends. With this intention he met him riding into Hampton Court park, and before he came at him, (according to his relation,) he perceived a waft of death go forth against him; and coming to him, he looked like a dead man. So after G. Fox had laid the sufferings of his friends before him, and had warned him, Oliver bid him come to his house; whereupon G. Fox went to Kingston, and the next day came to Hampton Court again; but there he understood that the protector was sick; and Dr. Harvey told him, that the doctors were not willing that he should speak with the protector. So he

passed away, and never saw Oliver Cromwell any more: who, since the death of his daughter, the lady Claypole, had been dis-tempered, and troubled with a malignant humour in his foot; which when his physicians endeavoured to disperse, they drove upward, (as was said,) to his heart; and being seized with a violent fever, he grew weaker and weaker; yet his preachers endeavoured to conceal the danger he was in: and it is reported that Dr. Goodwin, one of his chaplains, in a prayer during the time of his sickness, made use of this expression, 'Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted, and assured us of; but for his speedy recovery.' Whilst the protector was sick, E. Burrough wrote the following letter to his wife and children.

' Friends,

' Remember, that by the Lord you were raised from a low state, and when he will he can abase you, and bring you down; he gave you the palace of princes, and threw out them before you.

' O, remember this every one of you, and come to the witness of God in you, and be humble, and meek, and lowly, and let the Lord's fear be in your hearts; and be of a tender spirit, having your minds exercised in purity, in holiness, and in righteousness; and exalt not yourselves, nor be lifted up in your hearts in the pride, and vain-glories, and honors of this world, lest the Lord cast you down, and make your name and posterity a reproach, as he hath done many before you; and if you walk in the same steps, and do the same things, and become guilty of the same abominations, and suffer the children and servants of the Lord to be persecuted (as many are at this day, some until death) shall the Lord spare you? Nay, he will cause you to feel his hand of judgment, and bring you down with sorrow, and he will vex you in his wrath, and smite you with his rod more and more, till you learn his fear, and depart from all your iniquities; and the Lord will deface your glory, and pull down your crown; and he will make you know, that he is Lord, that doth whatsoever he will.

' Wherefore humble yourselves under the hand of God, and search your own hearts, and cast out the abominations that vex the Spirit of the Lord; and suffer not the people of the Lord's precious flock to be devoured, and made a prey to the wicked; for because of this the rod of affliction cometh upon you, and may suddenly break you to pieces: but mind the seed of God in you, which is oppressed, and wait to know the power of the Lord, which will redeem you out of sin and death, and reconcile you to God, and bring you into fellowship with himself, to enjoy peace and rest for your souls, that you may be made heirs of the inheritance of an endless life: and this would make you truly honourable, and will be more satisfaction to you, and joy, and content,

and true rejoicing, than all worldly crowns and worldly glories, which will waste and consume away, and leave you miserable. And remember that you are now warned from the Lord God, by whom I am moved to write this unto you, in dear and tender love to you all ; and one day you shall witness it.

‘ And as concerning the Quakers, so called, who are accounted as vile in the sight of men, and are cast out of all power and place in the nation, being despised of all ; and also are reproached, persecuted, and imprisoned, and all manner of evil and injustice unrighteously done and spoken against them, by wicked and corrupt men in authority ; yet are they the children and servants of the living God, and greatly beloved of him, and are as dear to him as the apple of his eye, and his power and presence is with them ; and the time is at hand that the Lord will make their persecutors fall, and their enemies bow and tremble, though now they suffer unjustly, and are trodden down, as not deserving a place on the earth ; yet it is for righteousness’ sake, and because they show forth the image of the Father, and not for evil doing : and will not their sufferings lie upon you ? For many hundreds have suffered cruel and great things, and some the loss of life ; (though not by, yet in the name of, the protector ;) and about a hundred at this present day lie in holes, and dungeons, and prisons, up and down the nation ; and some at this time are sick, nigh unto death, whose sufferings cry for vengeance, and the Lord heareth the cry. Wherefore save yourselves, and let the innocent be delivered, and the cruel bonds of oppression broken, and the exercise of a pure conscience go free, without persecution ; and then the Lord will turn away his anger, and cease to smite you with his rod, which hath been upon you ; and he will give you peace, and make you blessed, if you come to be led by his Spirit into all Truth.

‘ And though these innocent lambs of Christ suffer thus under this present power, yet are they not enemies to you, but are friends to your persons and families, and pity you, and love you, and desire well for you in the Lord ; that you may repent and be healed, and even that your hearts may be opened to receive refreshments to your souls ; and that you may be established in righteousness and truth over all your enemies, and may not be confounded, nor your posterity brought into reproach, which is hastening upon you : and though our love be despised, and we accounted hateful in your sight, and looked upon with derision, yet we bear all things in patience, truly desiring your returning and repentance, and not your destruction. But if these doleful sufferings of the Lord’s poor lambs be continued by this present power, it will destroy you, and undo you, and break you, and confound you ; and the Lord will not cease to smite you with his rod of sharp rebukes ; and he will make you know his people’s cause shall not be unpunished. Oh, did you but know how hundreds

have and do suffer ! How the bodies of some have been tortured by stocks and cruel whippings ! And how some lie sick in stinking holes and dungeons, on the ground, or a little straw at best ; ten, or often more, in a prison together, and sometimes their own friends not suffered to come to visit them with necessities ! Oh, did but your eyes behold, or your hearts perceive the greatness of the cruelty, which some of the Lord's dear servants, and your faithful friends, undergo, it would make your hearts ache, and your spirits to tremble ! And all this is done in the name, and under the authority of (protector ;) therefore how should the Lord but lay it to your charge, and afflict him and his family ? He will make you know there is a God that can do whatsoever he will, and that life and death are in his hands, and all creatures are as clay in the hand of the potter ; and he rules in the kingdoms of men, and putteth down one and setteth up another, according to his pleasure : but if the love of God be withholden from you, it is because of disobedience to him, and your transgression. Wherefore be obedient to him, and love his ways and judgments, that he may make you more happy with a crown immortal, that never fades away. And remember once more the Lord hath warned you, by a friend unto you in the Lord.

‘ E. Burrough.’

Written the 1st day of September, 1658.

Cromwell was snatched away by death unawares ; however, the day before his decease this letter was delivered to his relations. It was not but in the last period of his life that he named his son Richard to be his successor. And when death looked in his face, remorse did not stay behind ; for, according to what Ludlow relates, he seemed above all concerned for the reproaches (he said) men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes, when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon, on the 3rd of September, at the age of about fifty-five years. The news of his death being brought to those who were met together to pray for him, one Sterry stood up, and said, ‘ This is good news ; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven, there to intercede for us.’ O horrid flattery ! Thus I call it, if he had been the greatest saint on earth ; which he came much short of, though he was once endued with some eminent virtues. His dying day was remarkable by a most grievous tempest, not only in England, but also in the Low Countries, where trees were torn out of the ground by the violence of the wind, and many ships foundered. ‘ He was,’ saith Edward, Earl of Clarendon, ‘ one of those persons whom even his enemies could not vilify without praising him.’ And I have heard impartial men say, that in the beginning of his achievements, he was in-

deed an excellent man ; but being come to a high station, he soon lost that zeal for the public welfare, by which at first he seemed to be animated.

The body of the deceased was laid in Somerset House, in an apartment enlightened only with wax tapers, the corpse being richly adorned.

After his death, Richard, eldest son to Oliver, was proclaimed protector of the commonwealth ; to whom E. Burrough wrote a letter, superscribed to Richard Cromwell, chosen to be protector and chief magistrate, &c. wherein he gave him some account of the most cruel sufferings of his friends ; and speaking of the rulers, he saith thus :

‘ As for magistracy, it was ordained of God to be a dread and terror, and limit to evil doers, and to be a defence and praise to all that do well ; to condemn the guilty, and to justify the guiltless ; but the exercise thereof at this day in these nations is degenerated, and some that are in authority are greatly corrupted, and regard not the just and pure law of God, to judge only thereby ; but oppress the poor by injustice, and subvert the good laws of God and men to a wrong end and use, abusing authority, and turning the sword against the just, whereby true judgment is turned backward, and the innocent made unjustly to suffer for righteousness’ sake, through the corruption of men in authority ; and didst thou but know what we know in this particular, it would pierce thy heart : Why ? It is frequent among some of the judges and magistrates, to commit a man to prison, and impose some great fine upon him, and to cast him into a dungeon, or hole, among thieves and murderers, for a long season ; for no other offence, or breach of any law, but because he cannot put off his hat to them, and respect their persons, by the hat or bowing the knee : and many others that fear God, and for conscience-sake cannot swear upon a book, by kissing it, and laying hands upon it, because Christ saith, “ Swear not at all ; ” though they deny not to speak and do the truth in all things, as in the presence of God and all men : and many others, that because they are moved to cry against sin, and declare against the iniquities of the times, in teachers, rulers, and people, that highly abound ; perhaps in a market or steeple-house, or highway, or other places, as they are moved of God : and many others, because for conscience-sake they cannot pay tithes, nor give money and wages to maintain a priest, or false teacher, that they receive no profit by ; or to maintain a steeple-house, where the world worships in vain traditions, and not in the Spirit and power of God ; and many have been taken out of peaceable meetings, where they were waiting upon the Lord ; and some out of their inns and friends’ houses ; and many have been taken on the way, travelling about their lawful occasions ;

and some from their callings and labours; and for these causes, through the envy of wicked men, and without any just conviction of the breach of any law, or any lawful trial or examination, have hundreds of just men, being wholly innocent, been sent to prison, and lain many months, and some for years, or whipped, or put in the stocks, and grievously abused by cruel executioners of wicked men's envy and injustice; and upon such grounds only, and for such causes mentioned, and without the transgression of any just law, have and do at this day many hundreds of faithful subjects suffer hard and cruel things, long and sore imprisonment, and cruel and sharp whipping, and stocking, and unjust banishment out of towns and cities; yea, friend, it is hard to be expressed, and large to be declared, how many of the Lord's servants do, and have suffered great injustice in these nations, through the abuse of good government, and degeneration of magistracy from its perfect state and place, whereunto it was ordained of God in the beginning,' &c.

This remonstrance, how powerful and large soever, had not its due effect; but persecution continued, without being stopped by him: for the churchmen fawned upon him, calling him not only their Joshua, but the preachers of Suffolk said in their address to him, 'Though our sun is gone down, yet no night ensued.' *Sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.*

About this time was given forth a paper, called, The Church-Faith; and G. Fox having got a copy of it before it was published, wrote an answer to it; and when the book of the Church-Faith appeared, his answer was also in print. This so incensed some of the parliament men, that one of them told G. Fox, they must have him to Smithfield. To which he answered that he was over their fires, and feared them not: and further asked, whether all people had been without a faith these sixteen hundred years, that now the priests must make them one? And since Christ Jesus was the author of the apostles' faith, and of the church's faith in the primitive times, and of the martyrs' faith; should not all people look unto him to be the author and finisher of their faith, and not unto the priests. Nothing material was answered to this; but the priests called G. Fox's friends, house-creepers, because they met together in houses, and would not maintain the priests' temples. One major Wiggan, that was present when G. Fox discoursed with the parliament men, said, Christ had taken away the guilt of sin, but had left the power of sin remaining in us. G. Fox told him that this was strange doctrine; for Christ came to destroy the devil and his works, and the power of sin, and so to cleanse men from sin.

Now there was great persecution, both by imprisonment and breaking up of meetings; and many died in prisons: for the priests speaking evil of the Quakers, it did kindle the insolence of

the rabble not a little, so that they did not stick to throw squibs into the meetings, to cast rotten eggs on those that were met, to beat on drums and kettles, and so to make a hideous noise, and to abuse people most grievously with blows and violent pushes.

One day there being a meeting appointed near London, they beat and abused about eighty persons that came out of the city to meet there, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, and throwing them into ditches and ponds. The next first-day of the week after this, G. Fox, though at that time very weak, went thither, and preaching with the Bible in his hand, he showed the rude people their and their teachers' fruits, and how disagreeable these mad actions were to the doctrine contained in the Holy Scriptures. Many of his imprisoned friends were now brought up to London to be tried by the committee; where Henry Vane, being chairman, would not suffer them to come in, except they would put off their hats. But since many of them had been imprisoned upon contempts, (as the not putting off hats before magistrates was called,) others signified that it must not be expected that now they should comply; and so through the mediation of some that persuaded Vane, they were at length admitted; where they so well defended their cause, that several were set at liberty.

Sufferings now growing very sharp, G. Fox, to encourage his friends, wrote the following lines to them:

‘ My dear friends, every where scattered abroad, in prison, or out of prison, fear not, because of the reports of sufferings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and that there be Anakims in the land; for at the blowing of the ram’s horns did the walls of Jericho fall down; and they that brought the evil report, perished in the wilderness. But dwell ye in the faith, patience, and hope, having the word of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and having the oath of God, his covenant, Christ Jesus, which divides the waters asunder, and makes them to run all on heaps; in that stand, and ye shall see all things work together for good, to them that love God; and in that triumph when sufferings come, whatever they be: your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armour you have on; ye are ready to skip over a mountain, or a wall, or a hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be heaps upon heaps; for the evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness, but Caleb, which signifies a heart, and Joshua, a saviour, triumph over all.

‘ G. F.’

There was at that time great discord among those that were at the helm of government; and G. Fox relates, that he did then foresee the king’s coming in again; and that therefore when some

forward spirits, who frequented the meetings of his friends, would have bought Somerset House to keep meetings in, he dissuaded them from it. There came also a woman to him, who having (as she said) had a revelation concerning the restoring of king Charles, three years before he came in, said, she must go to him to declare it: but G. Fox advised her to keep this revelation to herself, since if she went on such a message, it would have been counted treason.

How the corpse of Oliver Cromwell was laid in Somerset House to be seen, hath been said already; but afterwards an image of him lying there in state, was accompanied with trumpeters, who sounded over the said image. This vanity so grieved G. Fox, that he wrote the following lines to the authors thereof:

‘ Oh, friends, what are ye doing! And what mean ye to sound before an image! Will not all sober people think ye are like mad people? Oh, how am I grieved with your abomination! Oh, how am I wearied! ‘ My soul is wearied with you,’ saith the Lord, ‘ will I not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations? Oh, how have ye plucked down, and set up! Oh, how are your hearts made whole, and not rent; and how are ye turned to fooleries! Which things in times past ye stood over: therefore how have ye left my dread,’ saith the Lord. Oh, therefore, fear and repent, lest the snare and the pit take you all. The great day of the Lord is come upon all your abominations, and the swift hand of the Lord is turned against them all. The sober people in the nation stand amazed at your doings, and are ashamed, as if you would bring in popery.

‘ G. F.’

Sometime after this, the funeral of O. Cromwell was solemnized with very great pomp, not at all agreeable to that condition he was once in; for the time was when he would have abhorred such an idolatrous honour as was now paid to his image. On the day of this pompous funeral, which was the 23d of November, it happened that Edward Burrough came riding from Kingston into London, not knowing any thing of what was done there. As he entered at Charing-cross, he beheld a great multitude of people thronging exceedingly, the streets being filled as far as he could see, and abundance gazing at the windows, and upon the balconies, and house-tops. There were also guards of horse and foot, that stopped his horse, and it was told him, that he might not pass that way. Yet he did not know what was the matter; but at length he perceived that Cromwell’s image, richly adorned, was to be carried that way towards Westminster. The consideration of this, was like an arrow which pierced his breast: and because of this idolatry, he felt such a fire kindled in him, that he was, as it were, filled with the indignation of the Lord, whose fury ran

through him, to cry, Plagues, plagues, and vengeance against the authors of this abomination. Nay, so ardent was his zeal, that if he had been moved to it, and it had been possible to have done it, he could (not at all minding his own life) have ridden through the guards and multitude, to have sounded the judgments of God against the idolaters. And considering that all this sinful idolatry was about the funeral of Oliver Cromwell: 'Alas, for him,' said Burrough with himself, 'who was once a great instrument in the hand of the Lord, to break down many idolatrous images! Did not the Lord once stir up his heart against all such things? And did not once his children, officers, soldiers, and army, pull down all the images and crosses, and all such like popish stuff, wherever they met with it? What grievous and abominable work is this? Have they now made a costly image of him? And are such as were once his soldiers now guarding it, and watching over it, and his children and officers following it, and multitudes of the inhabitants of London, wondering and gazing after an image of him? This is sad, and great pity: what a change is this in so short a time?'

This zealous testimony E. Burrough gave out in print, whereby he raised to himself a more lasting monument, than by the erecting of a statue was made in his quondam friend O. Cromwell. Now, since the persecution of E. Burrough's friends (notwithstanding that he had written to Richard Cromwell) did not cease, and that all exhortations and warnings were rejected, E. Burrough in the month December, wrote the following lines to Richard and his council:

'To the Protector, and his council.

'The Lord God will shortly make you know that we are his people; though we be accounted as sheep for the slaughter, yet our King of righteousness will break you to pieces, if you harden your hearts, and repent not. And though that love will not draw thee, neither the gentle leading of our God have any place in you, yet judgments shall awaken you, and his heavy hand of indignation shall lie upon your consciences, and you will be scattered and distracted to pieces.

'E. Burrough.'

How soon this prediction was fulfilled, we shall see in the next year; for it was but a few months after the delivering of this letter, when Richard laid down the government.

In the meanwhile we will take again a view of the persecution in New England. There was, as hath been said already, a fine settled of five shillings a week to be paid for not coming to church, as it was called. And thus from time to time occasion was found to use cruelty against the inhabitants, though none of those called

Quakers came from abroad. William Shattock, a shoemaker at Boston, being on a first-day of the week, found in his house, instead of coming to the public worship, was haled to the house of correction; where, at his first entrance, he was cruelly whipped, and then kept to work, whilst his wife and innocent children were in want because of his absence. In the meantime the deputy-governor, Richard Bellingham, did not stick to say to William's wife, that since he was poor, and could not pay five shillings a week for not coming to church, they would continue him in prison. Thus was verified that saying of Solomon, "Cruel are the mercies of the wicked." Bellingham also endeavoured to persuade this woman, that what her husband had done, was to be rid of her, and therefore advised her to disown him. Now these persecutors began to have abundance of business; and taking away of goods, and cruel whippings became almost daily work, which was performed without regard of age or sex; all which to relate would exceed my limits.

Two women, named Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh, being come to Boston, and having in the public meeting-place, after the lecture was ended, spoken a few words, were brought to the house of correction, and three days before their being whipped, and three days after, were kept from victuals, though they had offered to pay for them. And when Sarah afterwards asked the governor, John Endicot, whether this was justice or equity; adding, that by this all might see that God was with them, that they were thus preserved without food; and if they perished, their blood would fall heavy on those that were the occasion thereof; he answered, that he mattered it not.

Not long after, Hored Gardner, an inhabitant of Newport, in Rhode Island, came with her sucking babe, and a girl to carry it, to Weymouth: from whence, for being a Quaker, she was hurried to Boston, where both she and the girl were whipped with a three-fold knotted whip. After whipping, the woman kneeled down, and prayed the Lord to forgive those persecutors: which so reached a woman that stood by, that she said, surely she could not have done this, if it had not been by the Spirit of the Lord.

But when should I have done, if I would describe all the whippings inflicted on the Quakers, so called, in those parts! For now a law was made, which furnished continual work to the persecutors there. The contents thereof were, that whosoever of the inhabitants should directly or indirectly cause any of the Quakers to come into that jurisdiction, he should forfeit a hundred pounds to the country, and be committed to prison, there to remain till the penalty should be satisfied. And whosoever should entertain them, knowing them to be so, should forfeit forty shillings to the country for every hour's entertaining or

concealment, and be committed to prison till the forfeiture should be fully paid and satisfied. And further, that all and every of those people that should arise among them there, should be dealt withal, and suffer the like punishment as the laws provided for those that came in, viz. That for the first offence, if a male, one of his ears should be cut off, and be kept at work in the house of correction till he should be sent away on his own charge. For the second, the other ear, and be kept in the house of correction as aforesaid. If a woman, then to be severely whipped, and kept as aforesaid, as the male for the first; and for the second offence, to be dealt withal as the first. And for the third, he or she should have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and be kept in the house of correction, close at work, till they be sent away on their own charge.

In the latter part of the fifth month, it came to pass, that William Brend and William Leddra, having been at Salem, came to Newbury; where at the house of one Robert Adams, they had a conference with the priest, in the presence of captain Gerish, who had promised that they should not suffer; but after the conference was ended, the captain would not let them go, but on promise presently to depart the town; which being loath to comply with, as they were on their way, they were sent for back, and captain Gerish riding after them, commanded them to return: which they refusing, he compelled them thereunto, and sent them with a constable to Salem; where, being brought before the magistrates, they were asked whether they were Quakers; to which they answered, that they were such that were in scorn called so. Next it was objected to them, that they maintained dangerous errors. They asking what these were, it was told them, that they not only denied that Christ at Jerusalem had suffered on the cross, but also that they denied the Holy Scriptures. They boldly contradicted this, and said they owned no other Jesus, but he that had suffered death at Jerusalem, and that they also owned the Scriptures.

Now, although nothing could be objected against this, yet they were carried to the house of correction, as such who, according to the law made at Boston, might not come into those parts. Some days after they were carried to Boston, where in the next month they were brought into the house of correction, to work there. But they unwilling to submit thereto, the gaoler, who sought his profit from the work of his prisoners, would not give them victuals, though they offered to pay for them. But he told them, it was not their money, but their labour he desired. Thus he kept them five days without food, and then with a three-corded whip gave them twenty blows. An hour after he told them, they might go out, if they would pay the marshal that was to lead them out of the country. They judging it very unreasonable to pay

money for being banished, refused this, but yet said, that if the prison-door was set open, they would go away.

The next day the gaoler came to W. Brend, a man in years, and put him in irons, neck and heels so close together, that there was no more room left between each, than for the lock that fastened them. Thus he kept them from five in the morning, till after nine at night, being the space of sixteen hours. The next morning he brought him to the mill to work, but Brend refusing, the gaoler took a pitched rope about an inch thick, and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms, with as much force as he could, so that the rope untwisted; and then, going away, he came again with another rope, that was thicker and stronger, and told Brend, that he would cause him to bow to the law of the country, and make him work. Brend judged this not only unreasonable in the highest degree, since he had committed no evil; but he was also altogether unable to work, for he wanted strength for want of food; having been kept five days without eating, and whipped also, and now thus unmercifully beaten with a rope. But this inhuman gaoler relented not, but began to beat anew with his pitched rope on this bruised body, and, foaming at his mouth like a madman, with violence laid fourscore and seventeen blows more on him, as other prisoners that beheld it with compassion, have told; and if his strength, and his rope had not failed him, he would have laid on more; he threatened also to give him the next morning as many blows more. But a higher power, who sets limits even to the raging sea, and hath said, "Hitherto thou shalt come, but no further," also limited this butcherly fellow; who was yet impudently stout enough to say his morning prayer. To what a most terrible condition these blows brought the body of Brend, (who because of the great heat of the weather, had nothing but a serge cassock upon his shirt,) may easily be conceived; his back and arms were bruised and black, and the blood hanging as in bags under his arms; and so into one was his flesh beaten, that the sign of a particular blow could not be seen; for all was become as a jelly. His body being thus cruelly tortured, he lay down upon the boards, so extremely weakened, that the natural parts decaying, and strength quite failing, his body turned cold; there seemed as it were a struggle between life and death; his senses were stopped, and he had for some time neither seeing, feeling, nor hearing; till at length a divine power prevailing, life broke through death, and the breath of the Lord was breathed into his nostrils.

Now, the noise of this cruelty spread among the people in the town, and caused such a cry, that the governor sent his surgeon to the prison to see what might be done; but the surgeon found the body of Brend in such a deplorable condition, that, as one without hopes, he said, his flesh would rot from off his bones, ere

the bruised parts could be brought to digest. This so exasperated the people, that the magistrates, to prevent a tumult, set up a paper on their meeting-house door, and up and down the streets, as it were to show their dislike of this abominable and most barbarous cruelty; and said, the gaoler should be dealt withal the next court. But this paper was soon taken down again upon the instigation of the high-priest, John Norton, who, having from the beginning been a fierce promoter of the persecution, now did not stick to say, 'W. Brend endeavoured to beat our gospel ordinances black and blue, if he then be beaten black and blue, it is but just upon him; and I will appear in his behalf that did so.' It is therefore not much to be wondered at, that these precise and bigoted magistrates, who would be looked upon to be eminent for piety, were so cruel in persecuting, since their chief teacher thus wickedly encouraged them to it.

In the meanwhile it pleased God, even miraculously to heal W. Brend, and to keep him alive; but as if the hearts of these persecutors were more hardened thereby, to show themselves obedient followers of their teacher, they made an order, that the gaoler, if the Quakers that were in his custody refused to work, should whip them twice a week, the first time with ten lashes, the next time with fifteen, and so at each time with three more, till they would work. This was performed on four persons, two of which were William Leddra and John Rous, who may be mentioned hereafter. And to keep the passionate gaoler within due bounds, forsooth, it was ordered that each time he should warn two constables to see the execution. But how little moderation was truly meant, and that this was more like a jest, may appear in that the gaoler the first time laid fifteen lashes a piece on the said persons, and so added five stripes to the first number of ten.

It happened about this time, that some of the people called Quakers that lived there, being had before the magistrates, it was demanded by one of them, how they might know a Quaker; to which Simon Broadstreet, one of the magistrates, answered, 'Thou art one, for coming in with thy hat on.' Which made the other reply, that it was a horrible thing to make such cruel laws, to whip and cut off ears, and bore through the tongue, for not putting off the hat. Then one of the bench said, that the Quakers held forth blasphemies at their meetings. To which one of the others desired him to make such a thing appear, if it were so, that they might be convinced: and further, that they should do well, to send some to their meetings, that they might hear, and give account of what was done and spoken there; and not conclude of a thing they knew not. 'But,' said major-general Denison, 'if ye meet together, and say any thing, we may conclude that ye speak blasphemy' A very strange syllogism indeed. No better (to prove persecution lawful) was the argument of

Charles Chansey, chief teacher at the university, who in a sermon at Boston, argued thus: 'Suppose you should catch six wolves in a trap, and ye cannot prove that they killed either sheep or lambs; and now ye have them they will neither bark nor bite; yet they have the plain marks of wolves, and therefore ye knock them down.' A base expression, thus to compare man to a beast; for God said in plain terms to Noah, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." But these persecutors thought there was stress enough in it, to call the Quakers wolves; and to make one pass for a Quaker, they counted it a sufficient proof, when they saw he did not put off his hat to men: 'Knock him down, it is a wolf.'

And if the hat was not found fault with, something else was thought on; for at Salem twelve persons were fined forty pounds nineteen shillings, for not coming to church: and of others much money was extorted, because their wives absented themselves from the public worship. William Marston, of Hampton, was fined ten pounds for two books found in his house, viz. John Lilburn's Resurrection, and W. Dewsbury's Mighty Day of the Lord. Thus these people did whatever they would, without any regard to the laws in Old England: and when once some prisoners appealed to it, the governor, John Endicot, and his deputy Bellingham cried, 'No appeal to England! No appeal to England!' And they seemed to fear nothing for what they did to the Quakers; according to what major-general Denison said in open court: 'This year you will go and complain to the parliament; the next year they will send some to see how things go; and in the third year the government will be changed.' Now they not at all caring for Old England, denied also the prisoners their request of being tried according to the laws of that realm, by a jury. And the rulers dealing thus arbitrarily, the gaoler of the house of correction did the like; for when some of his prisoners showed themselves not unwilling to work, provided that their families should have something of the gain, he would not allow that, unless they paid him eight-pence for every twelve-pence gain: and when they refused this, the whipping-post was his refuge.

But to go on: in the foregoing year mention was made of John Copeland and Christopher Holder; these coming in the sixth month to Dedham, lodged there one night; but the next day, were taken up by a constable, and carried to Boston, where being brought before the governor, he said in a rage, 'Ye shall be sure to have your ears cut off.' Not long after, John Rous came again to Boston, but was shortly after taken, and committed to prison. On the 17th of September, he, with Holder and Copeland, were brought before the magistrates in the court, where the deputy-governor told them, that they, in contempt of the magistrates and ministers being come there again to seduce the people, might

know that whatever befel them, whether the loss of their ears, or of their lives, their blood would be upon their own heads. They denying this, and saying, that the Lord had sent them thither, the governor Endicot said, 'You are greater enemies to us, than those that come openly; since under pretence of peace, you come to poison the people.' Being asked for proof that the Lord had sent them, they replied, that it was some kind of proof the Lord had sent them, because they met with such entertainment as Christ had told his disciples, would be meet to them, for his name sake, viz. whipping, &c. To this major-general Denison said, 'Then when malefactors are whipped, they suffer for Christ's sake.' Then John Rous, whose father was a lieutenant-colonel in Barbadoes, said, 'If we were evil doers, the judgments of God would be heavier upon us than that which we suffer by you.' To which major Denison replied, 'Mr. Rous, (for so I may call you, having heard your father is a gentleman,) what judgment of God do you look for greater than is upon you, to be driven from your father's house, and to run about here as a vagabond, with a company of deceivers, except you look for a halter?' To this Rous said, 'I was not driven from my father's house, but in obedience to the Lord I left it; and when the Lord shall have cleared me of this land, I shall return to it again.' Then Endicot called to the secretary to read the law, who thereupon read this clause in it, that if any that had suffered the law, should presume to return again, they should have one of their ears cut off. Some more words were spoken, and among the rest, Endicot said, 'The Quakers have nothing to prove their commission by, but the spirit within them, and that is the devil.' And when one of the prisoners said, 'We have seen some of your laws, that have many Scriptures in the margent; but what example have you in Scripture for cutting off ears?' Endicot asked, 'What Scripture is there for hanging?' To which Denison said scoffing, 'Yes, they would be crucified.' Then Endicot called the three prisoners by name, and said in great passion, 'It is the sentence of the court, that you three have each of you his right ear cut off by the hangman.' Then they were carried to the prison, and on the 16th of September, the marshal's deputy came thither, letting as many come in as he thought meet; and when the doors were made fast, the said marshal read the following order:

'To the marshal-general, or his deputy: you are to take with you the executioner, and repair to the house of correction, and there see him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers; in execution of the sentence of the court of assistants, for the breach of the law, intituled Quakers.

'Edward Rawson, Secretary.'

Then the prisoners were brought into another room, where John Rous said to the marshal, 'We have appealed to the chief magistrate of England.' To which he answered, he had nothing to do with that. Holder said, 'Such execution as this should be done publicly, and not in private; for this was contrary to the law of England.' But captain Oliver replied, 'We do it in private to keep you from tattling.' Then the executioner took Holder, and when he had turned aside his hair, and was going to cut off his ear, the marshal turned his back on him, which made Rous say, 'Turn about and see it;' for so was his order. The marshal then, though filled with fear, turned, and said, 'Yes, yes, let us look on it.' Rous, who was more undaunted than his persecutor, suffered the like, as well as the third, and they said, 'Those that do it ignorantly, we desire from our hearts the Lord to forgive them; but for them that do it maliciously, let our blood be upon their heads; and such shall know in the day of account, that every drop of our blood shall be as heavy upon them as a millstone.' Afterwards these persons were whipped again; but this practice becoming so common in New England as if it was but play, I will not detain my reader with it.

Persecution being now come to the cutting off of ears, did not stop there, but went higher, and rested not, before it came to the taking away of lives. But to compass that proved very difficult; for there were many honest people who abhorred such a cruelty. Yet John Norton, and the other priests, petitioned the magistrates, to cause the court to make some law to banish the Quakers upon pain of death. This gave encouragement to the magistrates, for since the churchmen pushed on so wicked a business, no scruple was made to go on with this bloody work: and the court of magistrates voted it to be put in execution by a country court, which three magistrates made up, the majority of which might hang at pleasure, without trial by a jury; a thing not heard of in Old England: but it served the purpose of Norton, and his fellow-preachers. The court where this law was made, consisted of twenty-five persons; and when it was put to the vote, it was carried in the affirmative, the speaker and eleven being on the negative, but thirteen on the affirmative, so that one vote carried it. This so troubled one Wozel, when he heard it, having through illness been absent, that he got to the court, and weeping for grief, that his absence should occasion such a law to pass, said, if he had not been able to go, he would have crept upon his knees, rather than it should have passed. But what he said proved in vain; they had now passed the Rubicon, and what was eagerly desired, was obtained. Yet there was a great difference in the court, and the twelve that had voted in the negative, resolved to enter their dissents to that law; which the others seeing,

and that so many difficulties would weaken their law, they admitted this addition, viz. to be tried by a special jury; though a standing law of the country contained, that none be sentenced to death and banishment, but by a special jury and a court of assistants; and such a court consisted of seven magistrates at the least. But it was now resolved to prosecute the Quakers to death; and all this trial, when it came to it, was but whether they were Quakers? which they judged by their coming in covered; and that they had been banished out of the country. Now to enter upon this bloody business, the following act was made at the general court, held at Boston, the 20th of October, in this year 1658.

An Act made at a general court, held at Boston, the 20th of October, 1658.

‘Whereas there is a pernicious sect (commonly called Quakers) lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from orderly church-fellowship, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of the truth, and instead thereof, and in opposition thereunto, frequently meeting themselves, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simple, or such as are least affected to the order and government of church and commonwealth, whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithstanding all former laws, made upon the experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions, to disseminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming in this jurisdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace, and hazard our ruin.

‘For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person, or persons, of the cursed sect of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended, without warrant, where no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner, or select man, and conveyed from constable to constable, to the next magistrate, who shall commit the said person to close prison, there to remain (without bail) unto the next court of assistants, where they shall have a legal trial: and being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to be banished upon pain of death: and that every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect,

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

either by taking up, publishing, or defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers, or the stirring up mutiny, sedition, or rebellion against the government, or by taking up their absurd and destructive practices, viz. denying civil respect to equals and superiors, and withdrawing from our church assemblies, and instead thereof frequent meetings of their own, in opposition to our church order; or by adhering to, or approving of any known Quaker, and the tenets and practices of the Quakers, that are opposite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly, and endeavouring to disaffect others to civil government, and church orders, or condemning the practice and proceedings of this court against the Quakers, manifesting thereby their complying with those, whose design is to overthrow the order established in church and state, every such person, upon conviction before the said court of assistants, in manner as aforesaid, shall be committed to close prison for one month, and then, unless they choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good behaviour, and appear at the next court, where continuing obstinate, and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death; and any one magistrate, upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial, as aforesaid.

Here endeth this sanguinary act, being more like to the decrees of the Spanish Inquisition, than to the laws of a reformed Christian magistracy, consisting of such, who themselves to shun persecution (which was but a small fine for not frequenting the public worship) had left Old England. This act was answered by Francis Howgill, and the said answer published in print, wherein was plainly shown, that it spoke the language of the ancient persecuting Jews and heathen. In the sequel we shall see the bloody execution of it upon some persons.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

IN the forepart of the year 1659 there was great discord, and several factions among the people in England; for some adhered to the protector Richard, and others to the chief members of the long parliament; and the royalists made also a party. G. Fox, being under a concern lest some young or raw people, who sometimes came amongst his friends, might be drawn into some of those several interests, wrote an epistle, warning such to be careful, and not at all to meddle with any plotting; but to consider that their warfare was a spiritual one, and not at all wanting the use of carnal weapons.

About this time William Caton came again into Holland, and finding at Amsterdam some malicious people who endeavoured to bring his fellow-believers there into trouble, and to stir up the mob against them, that so the magistrates might take occasion to look upon the Quakers as rioters, advised those of that persuasion to be circumspect, and to avoid as much as possibly they could the impending storm. In order thereto it was thought meet that their religious meetings, which on the week-days were kept pretty late at night, on the first days of the week should not always be kept in one place, but sometimes in this, and at other times in another house. Sometimes a meeting was kept in an alley, at the town-wall near the Regulars' Gate, where several English people dwelt, from whence it was called the English Alley, and has that name still: hither came very rude company, committing great insolence. The time before that W. Caton was in Holland, he met with an extraordinary rude encounter at the said place, insomuch that he seemed in danger of his life; for some wicked people, not daring to do their utmost in the house where he was, pushed him out of doors; but then a woman pulled him into her house, where he was safe, though at first he knew not whether he was among friends or foes. I yet well remember this fact, being at that time with my parents in the said disturbed meeting. Now Caton being a discreet and judicious person, and perceiving that some of his friends there had more of a rash zeal than true wisdom, advised the

most moderate of them often to change meeting-places. In the beginning a meeting was kept now and then in St. John's Street, so called; and afterwards on Eland's Graff, in an alley, at the house of one Richard Langham; and also on the Angelier's Graff, in the house of my father; and some time after, in the English alley above-said; and also without the town, near the river Amstel, in Kuyper's Padt, or Cooper's Lane; from whence the meeting was removed in the forepart of this year (if my memory doth not deceive me) into the Verwer's Padt, or Dyer's Lane; which was then without the city-freedom, and the meeting-place was in a large garret of a tanner's house, where oftentimes came abundance of people, and among these not a few of the rude rabble. Here the meeting was continued till the year 1663, when that place came into the possession of another owner.

W. Caton, after some stay in Holland, returned again to England. I think it was in this year that William Ames went into Germany, where being come into the Palatinate, he went to Heidelburgh, and came to the court of the prince Elector, Charles Lodowick, who treated him kindly, even at his own table, and seemed not to take offence at Ames's hat, which he kept on, though the lords and others that were in the company, stood bareheaded. The baron of Helmont, who also was at that court, was wont to tell afterwards, that Ames walking once with his hat on next to the prince in his garden, the courtiers asked the prince, whether they should question Ames for this incivility: but the prince said, 'No, for I did expect that.' At another time the prince made his chaplain and Ames both dine with him, on purpose, as it seems, that Ames, whom he knew to be a bold man, might find occasion to reprove his chaplain; for at meat he suffered his jester to come, who playing his tricks, the chaplain was silent: but Ames, who loved gravity, and was averse to jesting, took occasion from thence to reprove such vain actions; but chiefly he aimed at the chaplain, whom, because of his silence at the lewd behaviour of the jester, he called a dumb dog; which seemed to please the prince.

Now whilst William Ames was in the Palatinate, he got acquaintance with the Baptists at Kriesheim, a town not far from Worms; and among those people he found such entrance, that some families receiving the doctrine he preached, bore a public testimony for it there, and so continued till the settlement of Pennsylvania in America, when they unanimously went thither, not as it seemed without a singular direction of Providence: for not long after a war ensued in Germany, where the Palatinate was altogether laid waste by the French, and thousands of people were bereft of their possessions, and reduced to poverty.

But to return to Ames, when some in the Palatinate began to give an ear to his preaching, a fine was settled upon those that gave him entertainment: but the prince elector being informed

hereof, took off that fine ; and though those of the consistory did send for Ames, the prince generously ordered them not to meddle with him. The prince's sister also behaved herself very kindly towards him, and received his exhortations favourably.

A year after Ames came again into the Palatinate, with John Higgins, and visiting the prince elector, he understood from the captain of the prince's guard, that the prince was glad of Ames's return thither. A while after Higgins delivered to the prince elector a book of G. Fox, with a letter of Ames to the said prince, who was so well pleased with it, that he bade Higgins to thank Ames on his behalf, saying also that he took the coming of Ames and Higgins to him and his family very kindly, and really believed that what they spoke was in love to their souls.

Several years after this, some others of Ames's friends from England visited the aforesaid prince elector, and he always (to his praise be it said) received them kindly. W. Ames, who was at sundry times in Germany, came not only to Hamburgh, but travelled also through Bohemia to Dantzick, and from thence to Poland. At Hamburgh and Dantzick he met with some that received the Truth he preached ; but in Poland people were too rude and haughty, to get entrance among them.

In the forepart of this year, W. Ames being at Rotterdam in Holland, was confined there in Bedlam ; which having made a great noise, I will give a brief relation of it here. At Moordrecht, a village near Gouda, lived at that time one Martin Martinson, a cooper by trade ; this man approving the doctrine preached by Ames at Rotterdam and elsewhere, began to assert it as truth ; and seeing now and then he with some of his sober neighbours kept a meeting at his house, this caused a great stir in the town, insomuch that sometimes he suffered rude treatment from the people. Ames coming once there, and keeping a meeting in Martin's house, great insolence was committed by the wicked rabble. And going from thence to pass over the water to Gouwerek, he was followed by a multitude of riotous people, both young and old, with a hideous cry of 'Quake, Quake, Quake!' and was pelted with stones and clods, till he came to the boat that carried him over. The preacher of Gouwerek hearing the noise, came to the boat, and asked what the matter was, why people made such a sad noise ? To which Ames answered, ' It seems the people are not taught better.' To which the preacher returned, ' They are not used to make such ado against honest people ; but I believe you be a deceiving wolf, that comes among the sheep to seduce them, and therefore they cry so.' ' Prove this,' replied Ames. ' I do not know you,' said the preacher. ' Learn then,' returned Ames, ' better manners, than to call one thou knowest not, a wolf and a deceiver.' And so going his way shortly after he wrote from Rotterdam to Martin, and bade him go to the preacher, and desire him to appoint a time to prove that Ames was a de-

ceiving wolf. But to this the preacher showed himself backward; yet to be rid of Martin, he said at length, 'Come, I will prove it presently.' But Martin replied, 'I am not come for that; but this must be done to Ames;' and insisting thereon, 'Well,' said the preacher, 'let him come next Sunday before noon, after sermon; then I will prove it publicly before all people.'

Of this Martin sent word to Ames; but things were managed so, that this project of proof was quashed: for the preacher of Gouwerek went to his colleague at Moordrecht, and consulted with him what to do in the case; and Ames being come to Moordrecht on the 1st day of the month called March, and the last of the week, though it was late at night, was seen and known by some, who committed much violence upon the house of Martin, where Ames was entered. The next day it was reported that some of the sheriff's men of Gouda were come to Gouwerek to apprehend Ames when he came there; and at Moordrecht the dikegrave's men came to the same purpose; and so they took Ames prisoner, and carried him to Rotterdam, where he was locked up in Bedlam, as a madman. And a week after Martin, for having kept meetings at his house, where not above eight persons were come together, was also by the dikegrave's men taken prisoner in his house, and carried to Rotterdam, where he was locked up with Ames. Who were the instigators of this business is plain enough, though I do not mention them.

After Ames had been not much above three weeks in Bedlam, the deputy-governor of the house, on the 27th of the month, about night, came to him and Martin, and said, 'If I was in your place, I would go out.' Which made Ames ask, whether he would suffer them to do so? To which he answered, that he should not hinder them. Then Ames returned, 'I will not be reputed as one that broke prison.' To which the deputy replied, 'Nay, why should you be reputed so? You may go out freely; all is unlocked, and the door will stand open for you: for the governors are not minded that you should stay here.' Then Ames said, 'Well, I intend to go out to-morrow.' The next day, Martin's wife came to see her husband; but the deputy told her, that he had an order in writing from the dikegrave, that rather than to let Martin's wife come to him, he might let him and Ames go out together. The issue was, that they were both let out that morning, it being the 28th of the month. But they staid at Rotterdam, intending not to depart the town before they had given notice to the dikegrave of their being let out; lest any occasion might be given for saying that they had broken prison. And it was not without reason they were so cautious; for the next day in the morning the deputy came to them, and said, 'I desire that you will not bring me into trouble, for I am an ancient man; and the dikegrave hath been with me, and asked for you: to which I answered, that you were gone out; but he took this very ill. I desire, therefore, that you would say you were

gone out without my knowledge.' But this was not to be expected from Ames, whom I knew so well, that I truly believe he would rather have died, than to have spoken a lie : for in such a case he was without question of the same mind as formerly Christian Languedul, uncle of my grandmother by the mother's side, who, when at Antwerp, he, with other martyrs, was led to the stake to be burnt, cried out undauntedly, 'If we would once but have told a lie, we might have escaped this.' But to return to Ames, he told the deputy, that he himself intended to go and speak with the dikegrave ; and if he was displeased at their going out, he might put them in again where they had been : for they would not have the name of prison-breakers.

Then they both went to the dikegrave, and told him after what manner they were come out ; saying also, that they would not have it said, that they broke out. 'That name,' said the dikegrave 'you would have had, if you had departed the town ; for the deputy hath told me that you got out by breaking a window.' After some other words were exchanged, he further said, 'I have nothing to object against your life and conversation, having heard nothing concerning you but a good report ; neither do I seek to persecute you. But would you be willing to return to Bedlam ?' Ames answered, 'Here we stand before thee ; thou mayest do with us according to thy pleasure. And if thou desirest us to return thither, we will do so.' The dikegrave signifying that this was his desire, said that they might go and walk in the gallery then, till another order came ; and so he caused his messenger to go along with them. Being come thither, they not long retained the liberty to walk in the gallery, but on the 31st of the month, they were locked up again, each in a hole by himself. Now Ames acquainted the deputy that he heard from the dikegrave, that he had been informed by him, that they were got out by breaking a window. But the deputy denied to have said so. They were detained there yet some time, and were pretty much visited, and this often by such as sought nothing but to scoff at them ; and among these a certain clergyman did not stick to say to Ames, that he was a deceiver, because he wore pewter buttons, to make people believe they were silver ones. Whilst Ames was confined here, he wrote some papers which afterwards he published, and among these a reply to an answer of one Jacob Koelman, to eighty-three queries given forth by the said Ames ; who now being set at liberty, travelled to Germany, as hath been said before, and from thence going back to his native country, after some time returned again into Holland, as did also William Caton.

But now I turn again to England, where an account was published in print of the sufferings of the people called Quakers, which being offered to the parliament, was delivered to the speaker, Thomas Bampfield. This contained a relation of above one hundred and forty persons, all distinguished by their names, who for

keeping of meetings, refusing to swear, not putting off their hats, not paying of tithes, and their travelling up and down the country, had been taken up and imprisoned, and many also been deprived of their goods, and one and twenty of these died either by sickness in prison, or by violent abuses; among whom was Richard Sale, near West Chester, who being constable, had a minister of the people called Quakers brought to him, with a pass as a vagabond, whose conversation so convinced the constable, that he gave him his pass and liberty. And because the said Sale judged both priests and people to be exceedingly darkened, he entered upon an extraordinary act, to show them by a sign that they wanted to be enlightened, viz. he came in the day time with a lantern and burning candle into the steeple-house during the sermon. But this was resented to such a high degree, that by order of the mayor he was put into prison, and thrust into a hole called Little Ease, which was so strait, that it could not well receive his body; but he was thrust in with such violence, that his body was bruised, and he spit blood, and shortly after grew sick; and his body swelling, occasioned by the squeezing it into the hole, he died in great pain. In the before-mentioned account it was also said that in the last six years, about two thousand persons, for being Quakers, had suffered in their body and goods. To this was added a paper, signed by more than one hundred and sixty persons, (several of whom I knew,) whereby they offered to the parliament to put themselves in the stead of their brethren, who were confined either in prisons, or houses of correction, or in dungeons, some being fettered, and others lying sick only on a little straw; wherefore they declared themselves ready to change places with them, out of true love, that so they might go out, and not die by hardship, as many had done already; to prevent which, they were willing to take upon themselves the sufferings of their brethren, and lay down their lives for them. Under their names they added, 'If we had been of Esau's race, we should have fainted before this time; and if we had been of Cain's progeny, we should have fought with his weapons; but this never was, neither is it the way of the righteous and chosen, of which we are from the foundation of the world.' It was in the month called April that this paper was delivered to the parliament, but I do not find that this offer was accepted, or any thing done for releasing the imprisoned.

About this time also Edward Burrough published a paper, containing a very remarkable prediction of what followed the next year; when king Charles II. was placed on the throne. In it he saith, that as he was travelling in Warwickshire, in the first month, his meditations being upon the Lord, and considering what unjust and woeful sufferings had been inflicted upon the

Lord's people within these few years, a cry went through him, 'The Lord will be avenged, the Lord will be avenged upon his enemies, and he will avenge the cause of his people.' This cry stuck close upon him, and his heart was even broken therewith, and his spirit melted before the Lord, it being as it were said to him, 'Write unto the rulers, and yet once more warn them of that recompence, and of that indignation, which is at hand upon them, even a just recompence for all their deeds; and as they have done, even so shall it be done to them; as they have sought to destroy the generation of the righteous, even so shall they be destroyed from off the face of the earth; and as they have unjustly judged and condemned the innocent, so shall they be condemned, and justly judged of the Lord; and as they have cast the bodies of the poor lambs of Christ into prison, and been a snare upon them, even so shall they be ensnared, and into captivity shall they go. And as they have caused the goods and possessions of the innocent to be spoiled, and made a prey, even so in like manner shall the curse of the Lord spoil their substance. And as they have done, so shall it be done unto them; and as they have meted to others, so shall it be meted to them again.' 'And I saw a great misery and desolation nigh at hand, even the sword of the Lord; and that it should slay them; and I beheld it was made ready for the slaughter; and in the sense of these things a sadness fell upon my spirit, considering the desolation and the judgment that is at hand to be executed upon the cruel oppressors.

'Wherefore all ye rulers, and all ye that have trodden down the heritage of God, and ye that have disregarded these many warnings that ye have had; I say unto you all, in the power of the Lord God, in his dominion, and by his Spirit, this is once more a warning to you from the Lord, and that these things must surely come to pass, and be fulfilled in their season, and no man shall be able to deliver his brother; but every man shall bear his own burthen, and drink his own cup prepared for him: and though it hath been counted a light thing amongst you, and you have despised the reproof, and gone on without fear; yet in as much as the Lord hath spared you, and not speedily executed judgment upon you, but rather waited for your return; yet the dealing of the Lord towards you, in sparing of you, you have not accepted; and therefore shall his judgments be the greater upon you. For if you do now come to the witness in your own consciences, what evil have this people done? Whose ox have they taken, or what have they desired of you? Or what have they sought from you? Or wherein have they been a burthen to you? Saving that they have reproved you for your iniquities, and de-

sired your redemption? Would you but now at last come to consider this, and confess the truth in your consciences; will not that tell you, that they have patiently suffered all things that you have cruelly imposed upon them? And have not they walked peaceably towards you, and humbly, meekly, and justly among their neighbours? And have they not been meek and innocent even as lambs, and as the sheep before the shearers? And have they wrought offences towards any? Have they sought the overthrow of the government, or have they sought vengeance against their enemies? Or what injury have they done to any man's person, or estate, saving to Satan and his kingdom? Have they not sought to reform and reclaim the ungodly from their ways? And have they not pitied and prayed for their enemies: and have they not in all things walked in good conscience towards the Lord, and towards all men? Yea, my friends, in the day of the Lord, when the witness in your consciences shall not be limited, but shall speak plainly, and when the impartial Judge shall appear upon his throne, then shall you acknowledge these things.

‘Wherefore I say unto you, receive the judgment of the Lord to purify you, otherwise the judgment shall destroy you: and now come to be more wise, that some of you may be as a brand plucked out of the fire, and be reserved from being consumed; for the visitation of the Lord is near an end, when his loving-kindness will be shut from you, and his long suffering turned into fury; and he will make you know that we are his people, with whom you have thus dealt; yea, you shall suddenly know it; the time is not long till he will crown his people in the sight of his enemies; he will crown them with praise and with righteousness, with honour and majesty, and he will keep them in safety, even when sorrow compasses you about; his mercy and loving-kindness shall extend towards them, even when his wrath and judgments smite you, and confound you. O! what shall I say unto you? for the deep sense thereof remains upon my heart; for when I consider, how that in all ages the Lord did avenge his people's cause, and when the time of their suffering was expired, he broke the bonds of iniquity, and set them free. Thus did he with his people Israel of old, and many times it was his way with his people, to bring them low by suffering, and then to raise them up again in glory; and he suffered their enemies for a season to glory over them, that he might bring them down. And thus he did in England, in the case between the bishops and their crew of persecutors, and the poor people at that day called Puritans; did not he confound that persecuting crew, and deliver his people? And is not he the same to effect the same work at this very day? Yea, doubtless, and much more will he do, in as much as the manifestation of truth is more clear than it was in their days;

and in as much as the rulers and people of this nation have rejected a more clear testimony, than either the Papists in queen Mary's days, or the bishops and prelates in their days; even so much the more will the Lord God execute his vengeance with more violence, in a more manifest way; and all shall know, that it is he that doth it, and he will set his people free: for he hath regarded their sufferings, and he hath said it is enough; for he hath tried them, and found them faithful; and all this hath been suffered to prove them, and not to destroy them: and like as he hath preserved them in patience and peace through it all, even so will he give them hearts to walk answerably to their deliverance; and as they have abounded in patience in their sufferings, so shall they abound in praises everlasting in the day of their freedom; and the earth shall be glad, and shall yield the increase and blessing; the heaven and earth shall rejoice, and the hearts of the righteous shall leap for joy; when the Lord hath broken the yoke of the oppressed, and set his people free, inwardly and outwardly; and then shall they sing to the Lord over all their enemies, who shall be tormented and vexed in the Lord's sore displeasure; for their reward cometh, and their recompence shall be even as their work, and he will give unto them sorrow and anguish, instead of rejoicing.

‘But again, when I considered the long suffering, and patience, and forbearance of the Lord's innocent people under all their sufferings; and when I looked at their innocency, and at their righteousness, and spirit of holiness, with which the Lord hath blessed them, my heart was made glad in the consideration of this; and the more was my joy, the more I beheld their innocency, and the guiltlessness of their cause; whereby the unjustness of their suffering did the more appear; and withal when I looked and beheld their increase under all their sufferings, and how that the Lord had turned all these things to their good, and to the overthrow of all their enemies; how that by that way, wherein their enemies intended to destroy them from being a people, even thereby did the Lord most wonderfully increase them to be a great people; for through all have they grown in life and power, and in strength, and in number, and through it all have they been encouraged to follow the Lord with more zeal and boldness. And in the consideration of this I did rejoice, with magnifying the Lord for ever, that he had brought forth his praise, even through the wickedness of the wicked, and he had increased his people, and exalted them through the cruelty of all their enemies; and that through all opposition they were attained unto a happy rest, and through all the tempest of great trials, they were arrived into the harbour of renown and great glory: and when I consider this, how that the Lord hath given them dominion, and brought their life to reign over all their enemies,

these things were a joy unto me ; and looking back into ages, seeing there was nothing, nor any people for generations, that had grown, and risen through all opposition like unto these ; wherefore it is a sign and testimony that we are the Lord's, and that these things are of him, and from him, and by him alone, that he might be praised for ever.

‘ Again, when I do consider, how that the Lord had raised his people, even out of the dust ; and them that were not a people, are become a people, and the Lord hath provoked nations by them that were not a people within these few years ; and the Lord hath carried on this work amongst his people, not by any thing of man, nor by the arm of flesh ; but in pure innocency and simplicity hath it been accomplished ; not by the wisdom of this world, nor by men in places of honour, and of power in the nations ; for all that has been wanting to them ; and what they are, it is through the opposition of all this ; for they have had none of the great men of the earth on their side to defend them, and establish them, but all have been against them ; and even oppression and tyranny executed upon them, rather than any approbation, or justification from men in outward authority : so that truly it may be said, there hath been nothing of man in this work, but all of the Lord, by his own power ; and in a contrary way to all the false sects, and false churches, hath the beginning and carrying on of these things been ; for we know that all the false sects in this nation, have risen and been established through the countenance of men in place and power ; and upon man, and the wisdom of this world, and authority of the powers of the earth, hath the rise and fall of all false churches depended ; and as the powers of the earth have sided with them, so have they been set up ; and at the displeasure of authority, have been cast down. But as for this people, they are raised of the Lord, and established by him, even contrary to all men ; and they have given their power only to God, and they cannot give their power to any mortal men, to stand or fall by any outward authority, and to that they cannot seek ; but to the Lord alone, who heareth their cry, and will avenge their cause.

‘ Wherefore let all the persecutors bow before the Lord, and let all the saints walk humbly in his sight, and let them continue in that innocent life in which they have begun ; and let them never forget the mercies of the Lord, and what he hath brought to pass, who hath manifested great things, and will do more and more to the confounding of all his enemies, and to the praise of his elect people. And all ye saints upon the earth, have ye the Lord in respect continually, and turn you not unto idols, but let the Lord be your joy for evermore.

‘ E. B.’

Not long after the publishing of this paper, to wit, in the month called May, Edward Burrough and Samuel Fisher went from Dover to Dunkirk, where then was an English garrison. Being come there, it quickly spread over the town. The governor Lockhart now not being there, his deputy, colonel Alsop, with the council of officers, sent for them; and they being come, were asked, what their business was there? To which they gave answer; and the next morning signified in writing, that their coming was to visit the jesuits, friars, and priests, and other papists, to show them the errors of their ways, and the falseness of their worship, &c. they being called to preach the everlasting gospel to the nations. They were some hours in discourse with the said deputy and the officers, and not unkindly treated; but the deputy however said, that it would be dangerous for them to stay in the town; and therefore he desired them to depart. To which their answer was, that if he desired them, they could not receive any such desire: and if he commanded them, they could not obey his command in that case; because they could not depart the town but in the will of God, according to which will they came thither. After much reasoning they left them, and the next day went to the capuchin friars, and had some discourse with the chiefest of them in their garden, concerning the light of Christ, that every man is enlightened withal; and they told them, that the mighty day of the Lord was at hand upon them; and that the Lord was come to search and try them; and that he would ~~tear~~ ^{tear} down their idolatrous ways, worships, and works. The next day Burrough wrote some queries to the friars and nuns in and about that town, which were sent to them in Latin. The introduction was thus:

‘The mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming upon you, and all the world. Awake, awake, ye that sleep in the earth, for the dreadful God is arising to plead with you, and to give unto all the world the cup of his fierce indignation, because of your idolatries, and hypocrisies, and abominations, which have corrupted the earth, and are come up before him, and have provoked him; and the cry of the just, who have been smitten, and laid slain, is entered into the ears of the Most High, and his sword, which is the word of his mouth, is awakened to wound and slay all his enemies. And the day of your visitation is now come, wherein the Lord is searching you, and trying you, that he may recompense you: and this is the word of the Lord to you.

‘Wherefore I am moved of the Lord to propound some few queries to you, for the trial of your spirits and ways; to which I demand your answer, that all things may be brought to light and true judgment, and that you may be judged justly, and by the

spirit of the Lord cleared or condemned according to your deeds.'

These queries were partly concerning the orders of friars and nuns, whether any such were in the church in the apostles' days; and concerning the popish worship and ceremonies, demanding proof of their lawfulness from the Holy Scriptures. After the delivering of these queries to the Capuchins, Burrough and Fisher went also to the friars of other orders, and entered into discourse with them: but their plain speeches against their idolatrous rites and ceremonies, found no entrance. After some stay in the town, they going to the college of the jesuits, got into discourse with their chief rector; and after a conference of about three hours, he grew weary, and pretending other business, would stay no longer with them; and so they parted, asking him, whether he would admit more discourse at some other time; but he refused it. Burrough afterwards wrote a letter to him, which began thus:

'Friend, thy wisdom and thy knowledge is earthly and sensual, and thereby canst thou not know the things of the kingdom of God:' and he concluded with this query: 'What is that whore that hath sate upon multitudes of people? and what is that golden cup in her hand? and what are the abominations and fornication of which her cup is full, which she hath caused the kings and people to drink?' &c.

But neither this query, nor the others were answered. Burrough and Fisher did also visit the nuns; and speaking to them through a grate, they asked, if they were of the order of those called Quakers; and soon perceiving they were such, they said, they might not hear them, and so presently passed away; whereby Burrough and Fisher were deprived of any opportunity to speak to them; only they witnessed against them. E. Burrough wrote also some propositions to the jesuits, priests, and friars, wherein he particularly represented the tyranny of the church of Rome in true colours; and these propositions were sent to them in Latin. They staid yet some days in town, and had divers meetings among the English soldiers: and Burrough also wrote to them, and bid them be faithful to the Lord, and not to seek themselves in their service, but the honour of God: he also showed them what their duty was in their military station; and (not to give them too rough a brush, but to meet them somewhat in their own way; following therein the example of John the Baptist, when he spoke to the soldiers, Luke iii. 14) told them, 'What do you know but the Lord may have some good work for you to do, if you be faithful to him?' and he also signi-

fied to them, that since the Lord one day would avenge the innocent blood shed in the pope's dominions, and appear against Babylon and Rome, the seat of the whore, and the kingdom of antichrist, it seemed not improbable to him, that the Lord would make way thereto, by the English nation. 'It is,' said he, 'the Lord's work, I know, to make men truly religious; but yet he may work by you, to break down the briars and thorns, and the rocks and hills that have set themselves against the Lord,' &c. He also advised them, if ever such a work fell to be their lot, not to be ambitious, nor vain-glorious, but to make it their work to demand the disannulling of the popish inquisition and cruel laws. And the officers he charged, not to be as tyrants and oppressors over the poor soldiers, but to be loving and meek, and examples of all goodness unto them: to this he added: 'and having no sin lying upon your consciences, then shall ye face your enemies with courage, and not fear death, but shall be ready to lay down your lives in a good cause.' But lest any might think he was for the bearing of arms, and not for harmlessness or non-resistance, he told them also, that the Lord had a more honourable work to work after them, viz. to destroy the kingdom of the devil, and the ground of wars. And that there was a more honourable victory to be waited for, to wit, the victory over sin, &c.

Burrough and Fisher being once sent for by the governor Lockhart, found many officers with him; and after some friendly discourse, they advised them to moderation, and the fear of God, and so parted from them: and after having performed their service in the town, they returned to England.

Not long after, Burrough gave the foresaid queries out in print, and wrote also a paper to the parliament; exhorting those that were members of that assembly, to fear God, and not to oppress honest people, but to free them from oppression and tyranny; lest the Lord come suddenly upon them and break them to pieces.

The power of the protector Richard Cromwell already declining, he was prevailed upon by the officers of the army to dissolve this parliament, which began to make enquiry how the subsidies were employed: and by the direction of some of the chief republicans, the long parliament was called again. This parliament set up a committee of safety, for apprehending those that disturbed the peace, and for making an alteration among the military officers, either by cashiering them, or otherwise; and, increasing in power, erected also a council of state; and word was sent to Richard Cromwell, who was now deprived of all power, to remove from Whitehall, which at length he did, the parliament allowing him two thousand pounds for the charges of removing, and promising to pay his debts contracted for the public: and his brother Henry, who was lord deputy of Ireland, was called

back by the parliament. Thus these two brothers were again reduced to the state of private men.

E. Burrough now wrote a letter to the parliament, and seriously exhorted them therein to desist from all persecution for religion, and to take away that which gave occasion thereunto. About this time there was an insurrection in Cheshire for king Charles, under sir George Booth; who having received a commission from that prince, got such numbers of followers, that he seized the city of Chester. In the meanwhile the parliament sent Edmund Ludlow to Ireland, to be commander-in-chief of the army there, instead of Henry Cromwell, and general Lambert was sent with an army against Booth. Now since some rash people that went under the name of Quakers, were for taking up arms under Lambert; and that the committee of safety offered great places and commands to some of that persuasion, thereby to draw them off from the truth they professed; G. Fox wrote a paper, wherein he showed the unlawfulness of wars and fightings, representing it as a work not at all becoming the followers of Christ: and he exhorted his friends not to join with those that took up arms, but to fight only with spiritual weapons, which took away the occasion of the carnal. This he also recommended in his preaching, for an harmless and an inoffensive life was that which he always asserted and practised.

As for Booth, he was defeated, and endeavouring to make his escape in woman's clothes, was discovered in an inn, and taken into custody; and being carried to London, by an order of the parliament, he was committed to the Tower. The officers of the army, of which George Fleetwood was now commander-in-chief, were very busy to get the upper hand of the parliament; which caused great division and distraction in the nation; for it was well known, that if the supreme power was offered up to the army, they then could do what they would; and thus the nation would be governed by the sword. It was also fresh in memory, that it was the army by which Cromwell had been advanced so as to become protector, and supreme ruler of the nation: and therefore many opposed the design on foot.

About this time also the military officers moved the taking off of the burthen of tithes, and to settle another maintenance for the national preachers. But being unwilling that the parliament should be masters of the army, they complained of having been deceived by the parliament; and colonel Desborough said, that they had not performed any part of the promises they had made to the army; that they had taken no care to secure a liberty to tender consciences; and that their intention was to remove the principal officers, and place others in their commands, who were of different principles.

Now the council of officers was for calling a new parliament ; but this met with no small opposition. In this bustle the council of officers began to insinuate with the clergy, and they agreed with them, that their maintenance by tithes should not be taken away till another revenue as ample and certain should be settled upon them : that some provision should be made for those who differed in faith and worship from the established church ; but that the Quakers, and some others, whose principles they said tended to the destruction of civil society, should not be tolerated at all. In this distracted state of affairs, when some were for, and others against, the parliament, so that it was hardly well known in whom the supreme authority resided, Edward Burrough wrote and published in print a large speech, which he styled, ' A message to the present rulers of England, whether committee of safety, (so called,) council of officers, or others whatsoever.' He signified, by way of introduction, that the contents had been upon him to deliver by speech and word of mouth, to the men then in power ; but no way being made for him so to do, he had written what was upon him. And then he begins thus with a majestic strain.

' Friends,

' My Master is a high, and mighty and powerful prince, and very honourable ; and fear, reverence, respect, and subjection belongs to him alone, from you and all mankind. He is wise, and understanding, and of great strength, and his dominion is from everlasting to everlasting ; and he can do whatsoever he will in heaven and earth, for he rules with his iron rod over the world, and whatsoever he saith, it is done ; for his word is an everlasting command. If he saith to a man, live, it is so ; if he saith to a man, die, it cometh to pass ; and if he give peace to a man, or a nation, none can make war : and if he make war with a person, or in a nation, no man is able to make peace. For why ? He hath all power in his hand, and to him all judgment and authority is given ; he is the Son of the living God, the everlasting Creator. He was, and is, and is to come ; his eye beholdeth all things, and his arm compasseth heaven and earth ; and what his purpose is, he hath always and will ever bring it to pass. If he set up rulers, they must rule ; and if he pull them down none can hinder : whom he will, he honoureth ; and if it be his pleasure, he bringeth men to shame. If he break a nation down, none can build it up ; and if he confound powers and authorities in the kingdoms of men, they all fall as withered grass before him. Behold, ye men ! He is so great and mighty, and of so great authority, that whatsoever he saith, it is done ; and whatsoever he willeth, it cometh to pass ; and none is able to resist him, and overcome his power, when his pleasure is to accomplish

a work. By him all things are that be, and all things live that have life, and through him all things move, and of his fulness every creature in heaven and earth receive. And this, my Master, is altogether honourable in birth, and otherwise, and altogether mighty in all his works; he is just and merciful, full of goodness, righteousness, and truth; all virtue dwells in him, and his judgment, and mercy, his authority and meekness, and his wrath and his love, they are companions: and what are ye before him? Or how shall ye be able to resist him, or to turn backward what his purpose is concerning you, and this nation? For ye have no being nor breath without him. Behold, ye men! Ye are verily as the dust before the wind, so are ye to him, soon blown away, and your place not found; as the grass before the mower, so are ye before him, soon cut down, and withered, and your beauty utterly extinguished; as a potter's vessel under an iron rod, even so are you to him, he can immediately break you, never to be bound up: as a drop to the fountain, so are you to him, soon dried up, and made nothing. Wherefore, ye men, ye mortal creatures, ye ignorant persons, sons, of a transgressor, ye dust and ashes, for thus you are in comparison of him, this mighty prince; hearken to his message, which cometh to you from him; hear and fear, and be not stout-hearted against the Lord God, that is about to speak unto you.

‘As for this little island of England, wherein your present place and being is, it is an island which the Lord hath showed great favour unto in ages past, and in this present time; and I must tell you, he hath a purpose of love towards it, and to honour it in the view of the world, though through great tribulations: and he hath an intent of great good unto it; for he hath a seed, a precious seed in it scattered abroad, and he hath a people that fear his name, and have walked in his ways, and he hath made them, and elected them, and what they are, it is by him; that he may dwell among them, and have the whole government over them all; yea, he hath a speedy purpose verily concerning this nation, and he will purify it in judgment, and refine its inhabitants through the fire of tribulations, that it may be pleasant to him, and fit to do his will: he hath a purpose to work some great thing in it, I must tell you, as he hath said unto me so to do; he will have his name exalted and revered in this island, and his terror shall be sent out of it through the world, and his branch from it shall spread over the earth; he doth purpose in his season to take it into his own hand, and to sway the government thereof with his own sceptre, and to set up righteousness alone, and to overthrow all oppressors and oppressions: and the kingdoms of this world must become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ.

‘True it is, such hath been the coming to pass of time, and of

things for many ages by past, that my Master hath been, as it were, banished from the nation, and hath not been suffered to enjoy his right; but hath been expelled, even, as it were, by the force of Satan and antichrist, who hath long usurped authority over the inhabitants of this nation; and in my Master's absence, lamentable injustice, cruelty, unmercifulness, tyranny, and oppression hath been exercised upon the inhabitants; and the poor creatures have been held in great slavery by their rulers, that have ruled by the dragon's power; and been kept in great blindness and ignorance, and under great oppression, both in body and spirit, by antichristian teachers, for this many years; even while the great King hath been absent, and as it were gone into a far country; even all this time hath antichrist and the devil ruled and reigned, and have made and executed oppression, and tyrannical laws and decrees both in church and state; and all the nation hath been out of right order, and laid waste and barren of good fruit, and it hath been as a wilderness by reason hereof; and men that have ruled for many years, have not ruled singly by my Master's authority, but by another power; though not without the knowledge of my Lord, neither as though he had not power to have done otherwise; but for his own pleasure he hath suffered it thus to be, and let men go on to rule and govern in their own wills, and after their own lusts; and people have walked wickedly towards him, and towards one another; and all this he hath suffered, not as if he gave toleration for it; for his messengers now and then, and his witness in people's consciences, have been reproving their ungodly ways; and he hath often showed his dislike by divers ways and tokens, and many judgments, and strange overturning, to the way and proceedings of both rulers, prophets, and teachers of this nation; but yet they have gone on against his mind, and contrary to his will, notwithstanding his reproofs and judgments: not that he had not power to have executed his pleasure in wrath upon them, and to have destroyed them altogether, and have made the nation a heap, and as nothing long before this day; for power was in his hand to have done it; but he hath been long suffering and of great patience, and borne all things, and taken the injustice, and cruelty, and wickedness, and idolatry, and all unrighteousness that hath abounded in the nation, upon himself: and suffered under it, and borne it for its season, while woful and lamentable oppressions have been practised in civil state, even hellish laws, and devilish executors of them; merciless tyrants have borne the sceptre, and reigned for many years over the inhabitants, and in church and state has been heinous idolatry and superstitious vanities committed in a high nature and measure, and even all men, and states of men, and orders of men of every degree have been abominably corrupted in the sight of my Lord, even from the prince to the beggar, even rulers and subjects, teachers

and people, judges and prophets, they have been corrupted both in heart and hand, and they have dealt falsely and wickedly towards him, and towards one another: even to the great displeasure and vexation of him, and his blessed Spirit, and to the high provocation of him to their own destruction, if his long suffering had not prevailed; and all this while he hath lain as it were asleep, and at rest in himself; and he hath left men to try them, what they will do, and he hath given them a day: many kings and rulers, he hath let them have a little time, to see how they would use it, but they have abused it and not ruled for him, nor accomplished his work, nor fulfilled his will, but acted even in defiance of him, and of his power, and to his great dishonour.

‘Alack! I must be plain with you: my Lord hath been utterly exiled, and greatly dishonoured, and highly provoked and vexed by reason of such proceedings, as have been in this nation for this many years, through the corruption of all sorts of men in place and power, who have not ruled for him, but for the devil to their own corrupted ends: only he hath suffered men to go on in their course for a season; some as it were appearing on the stage for a time, and suddenly cast down again for their iniquities’ sake; and his hand hath been in all these things, though very privately and secretly, not known and discerned by the sons of men, yet hath he ruled over the kingdoms of men, and pulled down one, and set up another. And to forbear the several actings and proceedings of many by-passed ages, and to come to this generation, and to speak of things that have happened within these few years, and of the changing and overturning that hath happened in this nation; such was the cruelty, tyranny, oppression, and idolatry, both in church and civil state, that the people of this nation were held under, in the days of papal power; such, I say, was the exceeding height of the cruelty and tyranny of that time, that not any that feared or revered my Lord, in any measure, could scarce live, or have a being in the nation: even against every man that did but incline towards him, and desire the knowledge of his ways, hell’s mouth was opened against them, and they were swallowed up, and many of their lives taken from the earth, by the hellish power that had in that day usurped authority in this island; and when thus it was, then he looked down from heaven, and his bowels of compassion were opened, for the sake of the oppressed people that desired after him, insomuch that he broke and threw down the power of their oppressors in some measure, as it stood in papal authority, and when the iniquity of that power was filled up, he took vengeance upon it; and I must tell you, it was he that brought it about, even the destroying of that power in this nation, and freeing the nation from it, though the men that were instruments in the cause, were not his servants, otherwise than as Nebuchadnezzar served him: for he hath a secret way to have a

service from the wicked, and such is his power, that he can turn the wickedness of the wicked to his glory, and he can make a rod to whip his adversaries, and burn it when he hath done, and he hath often destroyed one wickedness by another.

‘ Well, but to leave that, though he did in some measure, free the nation from much tyranny and cruelty, in the casting out popish authority, yet, alack ! the nation in a few years was near as much violated by injustice and cruelty, under the succeeding power, as ever it was once under the papal power ; though before there had been some small reformation and change in outward appearance, though little in ground and nature ; yet oppression, and idolatry, and superstition, in church and state, and all profaneness and wickedness among people was grown so high, like as it had been under the papal power before ; and all that desired after the Lord, and were weary of iniquity, and of the then present oppressions and idolatries, were persecuted, and slain, and destroyed ; and injustice and cruelty exercised upon them, even almost to the rooting out of righteousness, and to the grieving of the Lord’s Spirit. Well then, because of the cry of the people, and the oppression of the nation under that authority, my Lord looked down again : and even for his name’s sake, and for his seed’s sake, he had compassion on this nation, to set it free, and to break off its oppressions ; and in a great measure he did deliver the people of this nation in many things, and there was a part of reformation wrought, and much pretended and looked for : and all this came to pass through him, and my Lord did accomplish it, however the instruments by which he wrought proved deceitful, and became oppressors, as others before them : and though there was in this nation a day of great troubles and wars, and contention, and great strife, and the wasting of much blood, and earthly treasure ; and none of these things, I must tell you, fell without the ordering of my Master’s hand ; yet so it was, and came to pass, that after this nation was restored to peace, though much unrighteousness and injustice was removed, yet there was much also left behind ; and men that he had used as instruments in his hand, in a good work, and to whom he had given wisdom and understanding, and appeared in much mercy and in great deliverance ; yet they even turned to seek themselves, and became corrupted in the spoils of their enemies, and when peace and plenty abounded, the Lord was forgotten again ; and then the land fell under oppressors, and began again to cry out for freedom, even when other horns of the first beast sprang up, and went on each of them after his fellow ; and though one horn hath striven to break another, yet after one hath been cast down, another hath risen, and made an image to the first ; and ruled and reigned by the same spirit and authority, derived from the dragon’s power in cruelty and oppression ; and made laws, and executed them to the

dishonour of the Lord, and to the great oppression of his people, and to the filling of this island with injustice and cruelty, even from one generation to another, until this day : and thus up and down have times and seasons been altered, powers and authority changed and altered, statutes, laws, and decrees, changeable and alterable ; for as the iniquity of one power was filled up, that was cast down, and another had its day, till the measure thereof was also filled up, that it might partake of the same judgments. And in all these overturnings, breaking-downs and overthrowings, the very hand of my Lord hath been, though secretly, and not discerned ; yet his power hath brought about, and suffered all these things to come to pass ; and who shall charge him with injustice ? Or, who shall say, ‘ What hast thou done ? ’ Or, ‘ Why hast thou done it ? ’ For, as I have said, he is a high and mighty Prince, and can do whatsoever he will ; and he is the supreme power and authority, which rules and reigns in and over all the kingdoms of men. And what though he hath used wicked men as an instrument to accomplish his work, and made the wicked his rod ; and even brought it to pass, that one wickedness should destroy another, and one oppressor break down another, and the kingdom of antichrist confound itself : yet what of all these things ? All flesh must be silent before him, and all people ; and the whole earth must be subject unto him ; for the government and dominion over heaven and earth is his, and all power and dominion belongeth to him alone, and all judgment is in his hand, to bring to pass whatsoever he will, and by whomsoever, as he pleaseth.

‘ But now, my friends, though I would not be tedious to you, yet must I tell you the truth, and faithfully deliver the Lord’s message unto you ; and as concerning this last overturning, there was something of the hand of my Lord in it ; and he can, and will bring forth his own work and praise by it ; and it shall be for the good of all his people, that wait upon him, though there was much ambition and corrupted ends in the instruments, and neither part were perfectly single to the Lord in their proceedings : but their work was tainted with the false idolatrous spirit of self-seeking ; yet notwithstanding the Lord may bring forth his government, and his pleasant plant, through and beyond all this, even out of another root, which yet appears not among either of them ; and righteousness may arise in the nation, contrary to both of them, out of another stem, and he will set up his kingdom ; and in the mean time, leave one potsherd of the earth to break another.

‘ And as for you, that now sit on the throne and bear rule, whether committee of safety (so called) chiefly, though it is not without my Master ; for he hath the knowledge of it, at least ; yet you are not the only men of his choice, truly called of him to the place of government, neither is your government the govern-

ment of the Lamb, neither must it be for ever established by him ; its foundation is not blessed, nor can its building be prosperous : for why ? Alas, it is but another horn of that fourth beast, that hath been made to rule over the world, and upon the earth for many generations, and it is but hitherto a very little refined from the last, and is of the last, even as the eighth was of the seventh, spoken of by that servant, Rev. xvii. 11. and it may also make war with the Lamb and his followers for a little season, and it may have a small measure of injustice and persecution to bring forth in the land, even till the words of God be fulfilled, and his kingdom be fully come ; the way of which is but yet preparing by all these overturnings : and this your present government originally is leavened with the spirit of the old dragon, that hath killed the saints, and drunk their blood, and how should the Lord establish it ? Nay, your kingdom may prove but small and little, and full of uproars and troubles, and little peace, and satisfaction, and establishment in it to yourselves, nor the people under you ; but confusion will attend it, and fears will compass it about : though this I must tell you, as you are men, you have your day of trial what you will do, as many others have had before you ; and something you may and ought to do, if but to make the whore (the false church) more naked, and to scourge her, more than some others have done ; and indeed my Lord requires something more of you, (as such,) to do, than others before you could do ; and you have a price put into your hands, which you may improve to the Lord's honour, and to the nation's good, and to your own happiness ; which, if you be faithful to the Lord, to do what he requires of you, and if you become meek and humble men, and fear his name, and deny yourselves, and not seek your own honours, nor any earthly advantage to yourselves ; if you do thus, then my Lord will show mercy to you, and you shall not suddenly fall before your enemies, though many may rise up against you ; but your days shall be lengthened, and the purpose of the Lord may be turned to your longer continuance, and not to your sudden destruction ; and if you walk in this way, and rule only for the Lord, then shall you be honoured as men, if not as an authority, and you and the nation preserved in peace, and the force of the wicked shall be turned backward, and you shall not suddenly fall. And the late sundry overturnings in this nation may be examples to you, that you follow not the steps of those that God hath cast out, lest you come to the same end of confusion and misery ; for, as concerning that assembly of men, that last sat on the throne, something was done by them in their day and time, and in both their assemblings, in some things they served my Lord, and they were a rod in his hand to smite his enemies ; yet they were not faithful to the end, till all his enemies were destroyed, but rather joined themselves to fight against the Lord and his people, and

were hastening on towards the way of oppression and persecution ; and it was time for the Lord to remove them, and to lay them aside as an empty vessel, sometime useful ; and to break them as a rod, sometime of service to be a scourge upon his enemies : and when the day of their trial was over, which God gave unto them, being any longer (for the present) unfit instruments for his hand, then he cast them into the fire ; and this his purpose came to pass upon them : so that they and the whole nation may be contented, and yield themselves subject to what he hath done concerning them ; for they being entering into the very same spirit of wickedness, of oppression and persecution, which the Lord had once re-proved through them, and cast out by them ; then was a rod raised up against them, even as they had been against others, and they were dealt withal as they had done to others ; and this was in the justice of my Lord's hand ; and what hath mortal man to question his proceedings ? And though some of you (present rulers) be looked upon as great traitors and tyrants in your dealings towards them ; and doubtless the men of that part will seek vengeance against you, even by preaching and praying ; and they will curse you in the name of their God, and seek continually your destruction, as such as have taken away part of their strength, and cast down their idol : but alas ! all this is nothing ; for the Lord doth not account as men ; for these things must needs thus come to pass, for the furtherance of the kingdom and government of Jesus Christ, that it may arise through all ; and if you were but faithful to what the Lord requires of you, in your proceedings, what you have done unto them should not be reckoned on account against you, neither by God, nor good men. But and if you of the army be always treacherous and disobedient towards him, and abuse your power, and disregard your price that God hath given you, and trifle away your hour about places of honour, and such self-seeking matters, and the cause of God be neglected by you, and his people continued oppressed sufferers under you, as they have long been ; even then shall you be cast aside with shameful disgrace, and the heavy hand of the Lord shall be upon you in judgment, and you shall be smitten more than any before you : your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your souls from the pit, nor your persons from the violence of men, no, nor your necks from the axe : for if you be unfaithful, and continually treacherous to the cause of God, then shall you be left to the will of your enemies, and they shall charge treachery and treason upon you, and your persons and estates shall be given for a prey to your enemies ; and you shall not deliver yourselves, neither will the Lord deliver you from the execution of merciless men ; for my Lord shall leave the cruel-hearted to plead with you.

‘ Wherefore that you may be warned, I advise you to be faithful ; let not the cause of God fall, nor the cause of his enemies

prosper before you ; for there is no other way whereby you can be preserved, nor no other defence shall you ever find from the wrath of the Lord, and from the fury of your devouring enemies, than your faithfulness in God's cause : and therefore relieve the oppressed, and take off all oppressions, break down all unjust laws, and set all people free from unjust burthens, and let all oppression cease, both in church and civil state : and even all oppressive laws, and unjust judges, and evil men in power, let all these be removed, and the nation clean quitted and discharged, even from all men and laws whatsoever, that have held under oppression the persons, estates, and consciences of the good people of this land ; and let the nation be corrected, and all orders and places of men, and laws and decrees be purified ; for this my Lord, the great King, requireth, and he will suddenly have it brought to pass in the nation, if not by you, then contrary to you, and to your utter destruction. And this is the very substance of my message to you, that my Master hath given me to say unto you ; and on his behalf I am come to claim of you my Master's long lost right ; let him have his right from which he hath long been banished ; I demand it of you, all ye whatsoever, that seem to bear rule in the nation ; I charge you in his name let him have his title and prerogative, let him be Lord and King wholly in his own kingdom, let him have the exercise of his people's consciences by his own Spirit, in all things related to his worship and service ; and let him have the full authority by his Spirit in all things pertaining to church, and ministry, and faith, and religion ; and let his Spirit have the alone authority to persuade and dissuade people from, or to such or such ministry, worship, and practices of religion ; and let all forced maintenance to ministers, and tithes, be speedily taken away ; and let all laws and decrees whatsoever, made and practised in the days of antichrist, upon the bodies, estates, and consciences of the people, in oppression and unjustness about church, and worship, and religion, be utterly repealed and made void, and never more be in force in this nation : but let my Lord be sole ruler and governor, and have the full authority in his own kingdom, in all things whatsoever pertaining thereunto ; and let no man henceforth hereafter be entrusted with the liberties of the members of Christ's kingdom, as they are such, nor to judge over them in any matters of faith and worship, but give that right and privilege wholly unto the Spirit of Jesus Christ ; for unto him only it pertaineth to be whole judge, and to have full power in his own kingdom ; and until you give him the right, and deliver up unto him his own kingdom, and the exercise of people's consciences in all things about religion, you shall never prosper, nor none that cometh after you, that shall in any measure abridge my Master of his proper right, from which he hath long been banished, as I have said ; and till his right be given him, in the case aforesaid, he will dash one man against another, and none shall ever be

established ; but horn after horn shall be broken, and one power after another brought into confusion.

‘ And, therefore, ye men, do not strive with him in this matter, but yield unto him the exercise of your own consciences by his Spirit in you, and let him do so unto all others, even as ye hope to prosper, and upon the penalty of his sore displeasure upon you in this world, and in the world to come ; and let just men, and righteous men, and meek men, and men that have the fear and wisdom of God in them, without acceptation of birth, or otherwise, let such men have the power and judgment committed to them, to determine in things between man and man. Down with all the false-hearted flatterers, that have ruled for man and not for God, and for themselves, and not for the good of the people ; cast all such out from you ; for the good among you is choked by them : down with all that judge for rewards ; and away with all hireling rulers, that execute the law for money, and will not plead the cause of the poor without great fees ; and down with all that will not serve places of trust without so large stipends : away with all these things out of the land, for they are heinous oppressions unto men, and great abominations in the sight of God ; and the land hath long groaned under the weight and burden of these things, and the earth is weary of them, and my Lord requires their utter dissolution, as being iniquities fully ripe, and having the guilt of so much cruelty, injustice, and oppression lying upon the nation because hereof ; therefore, is the Lord’s season to destroy them, and remove them out of the land ; which if you be the instruments in such a work, it will be your greatest crown, and your perpetual honour ; for the Lord’s purpose is one way or other to cleanse the land of all these and other oppressions whatsoever, that the people of this land may be a free people from all the heavy yokes of antichrist, which have long sorely pressed them down ; and the purpose of the Lord is to break the yokes of oppression and tyranny from off the necks of this people ; and therefore it is that he overturneth, yea, and will overturn, all men and authorities that shall oppose his work, and none shall be able to stand before him ; for the presence of my Lord is more dreadful to a nation, when he shows himself in wrath, than any multitude of armed men : and woe is unto you, if you be found opposing of him ; and if you seek to stop his work, you shall not cumber the earth very long, nor oppress the nations many days. Wherefore, consider, cursed will you be, if you be unfaithful in what you have to do on the Lord’s behalf ; for your hour passeth over, that is allotted you, and will be suddenly expired, never to be recalled, and then you cannot work.

‘ And whereas there is a great cry about ministry, for sending forth and maintaining, and encouraging a godly ministry, as you say ;

‘ Now to this I do answer on my Lord’s behalf, and I must tell you plainly ; as for a true godly ministry, truly called and sent of God, such a ministry, and such ministers, you can never be able to hinder ; but the Lord will send them out, maintaining them and preserving them, whether you will or no ; and while you are troubling yourselves about such a matter, you are but meddling with things above your line, and out of your jurisdiction, while you act in such a case ; for it belongs to his government to send out ministers, whom, and as he will, and to maintain them and defend them according to his own pleasure, and all this without you ; for such ministers, truly called thereunto, and sent of the Lord, will not seek to you to be sent forth, or maintained by you, they will not be beholden to you in such a case ; but even without you, and contrary to you, must they be sent out and maintained ; so that the Lord will have a ministry in this nation purely of his own, and not of man, nor by man, and such a ministry you shall not be able to hinder.

‘ And I must tell you plainly, as for these men called ministers, in this nation, the way of their setting up, and sending forth, and the way of their maintenance, and the way of their standing and defence, and in every particular of their being such, they are the greatest and most woful oppression in the nation ; even the most abominable and unjust cruelties and tyrannies are acted through them, as any other thing in the nation ; and they are (as such aforesaid) the woful cause of the nation’s groaning under merciless dealing ; and there is upon their account, the guilt of blood, injustice, and oppression lying upon this nation ; their iniquities, their iniquities, cry for vengeance upon their own heads ; for they are full, they are full, and the measure thereof is near finished, and God’s eternal vengeance is their next reward from the eternal God. What shall I say of them, but this ? The earth is oppressed by them, the inhabitants groan under them, and the righteous God is vexed through them, and they are the very men of high indignation and fierce wrath, and all their practices (as such) are the fuel of his anger, to be consumed by the fire of his jealousy ; the nation is weary, and its inhabitants, and the Lord is weary, because of these men : and is this the ministry cried up by you as godly and pious ? &c. Are these the men that the nation must be forced to maintain in their pride and idolatry ? Is this the ministry that must be encouraged ? Well, if these be the men, and this the ministry which must be established and encouraged by you, in so doing you shall never prosper, but thereby gain the displeasure of the Almighty unto you, to bring a curse upon all your doings, even because hereof ; for I must tell you, the hand of my Lord is against them, and whosoever shall seek to defend them, shall not prosper in their doings, because their oppressions, cruelties, deceit, and

abominations, are nigh finished and fulfilled: wherefore take heed unto yourselves, for this is my Master's advice unto you; let this ministry alone, and join not yourselves to Baal, lest you perish, neither take part with antichrist any longer, neither be ye fighters against the Lamb and his kingdom; but free the nation, and let all its inhabitants be freed, from the cruel tasks and yokes of such men, and such a ministry as aforesaid; uphold it not against the Lord, for if you do, you shall never be established; and this is from the mouth of my Lord unto you.

‘ And last of all, my Master hath a people in this nation, even a suffering people, that have borne the burden of the cruelty, and injustice, and wickedness, both of rulers and teachers, who have, as it were, trodden them down, and made them a very prey to their devouring mouths; the very cry of their sufferings hath reached unto heaven, and the very sound thereof your ears have heard; and this people are greatly beloved, and my Lord will assuredly honour them, and his hand shall be continued to preserve them and defend them against all their enemies whatsoever; and he doth reserve them to himself, and for a glorious work that he hath to do by them; and he hath formed them for himself, and they cannot join with any of the horns of the great beast, neither can a place of honour pervert them from their perfect way; but my Lord, he compasseth them about on every side, and hath kept them in the midst of trials, reproaches, and sufferings, and covered them in the heat, and in the storm, till his pleasure is to make further use of them; they are his, and not their own; and they must fulfil his will, and none besides; and they lie at rest in him, while mountains are overturned, and while one potsherd of the earth breaks another; and this must be even till the appointed time: and to say no more of them, though much more might be said, they are had in remembrance before the Lord, to do with them even for his own glory, and for the nation's perpetual good; and to the authority of the Most High, through them, shall kings of the earth, and nations of the world bow and tremble. Wherefore ye men, touch them not, neither do ye afflict them, even as you hope to prosper; remember their cause, and suffer it not always to be rejected, as it hath long been, but keep yourselves free from the injustice and cruelty of them that have gone before you, who have been merciless, and oppressors of that people, even till my Lord hath confounded them, and brought them into confusion: for there is the weight of blood, tyranny, and oppression, lying upon the nation in that people's cause, and my Lord will revenge them in his season; and though they are not weary of their sufferings, but are in the patience which beareth all things, yet the nation can never be happy, nor its government ever blessed, while this people are held in bondage; and their sufferings are deeply considered

of the Lord, and the season thereof is expiring towards an end ; and when this cometh to pass, then woe unto the kingdom of antichrist, and to the whore and false prophet, even when their strength is dried up, by which they have made war against the Lamb and his followers : yea, woe unto them, great fearfulness shall be upon all the world when the King of that people reigns upon the earth, and the time is at hand : blessed is the man that waiteth for it, and blessed is he that is not offended in his coming, but is prepared to receive him in his appearing, which suddenly cometh upon all the world.

‘ And thus I have told the Lord’s present message unto you, which I received from him, and thus far I am clear ; and whether you accept it, or reject it, my peace and reward is for ever with him, who am a subject of his kingdom, and a friend to this nation, however otherwise judged by ignorant men.

‘ E. Burrough.’

The ninth month, 1659.

Now how soon after these sayings of Burrough, ‘ Your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your necks from the axe ; your enemies shall charge treason upon you, and if you seek to stop the Lord’s work, you shall not cumber the earth very long,’ were fulfilled, we shall see shortly.

About this time also he wrote several epistles to his friends, wherein he so powerfully exhorted them to faithfulness and steadfastness, that thereby he hath procured to himself a name that will never die : as living still in the remembrance of thousands, though he long ago went the way of all flesh, having laid down his life in bonds for the testimony of Jesus, as will be said in its due place.

There is also extant a piece of a letter written about this time to the cavaliers, which, whether done by E. Burrough, or by George Fox the younger, or by George Bishop, I cannot tell : but thus it speaks :

‘ The very same spirit of pride and oppression, and idolatry, is entered into them (viz. your enemies) and now lives in them in as high a measure as ever it lived amongst you ; and their iniquities are well nigh finished, and the Lord will one way or other correct and reprove them ; and they shall be dealt with in like manner as they have dealt with you ; for they were no more than a rod in the hand of the Lord for a season, and they must also be broken and cast into the fire ; and whether the Lord may ever make use of you to reprove them, as he did of them to reprove you, this I determine not, but leave it to him who can do whatsoever he will, by what instrument he pleaseth. It is true,

you have made many attempts to be revenged upon them, but you have not hitherto prospered ; but could you be humbled, and come into the meek Spirit of the Lord, then might you prosper ; hitherto the Lord hath always defeated you, and bowed you down under a people as unworthy as others ; but their time will come to an end. Submit therefore unto the will of the Lord in what is come to pass, and seek not vengeance to yourselves ; and then the Lord will avenge your cause ; for the iniquities of your adversaries are ripe. And Charles Stuart must either be converted to God, and ruled by him, or else he can never rightly rule for God in this nation ; though this I believe, it is not impossible but that he may be a rod upon them that once smote him ; and their oppressions and ambitions may receive a check through him.'

Among several other eminent preachers, Stephen Crisp was now also become a public minister of the word of God ; and it was about this time that he went to Scotland, to preach the gospel there, and to edify the churches with his gift.

G. Fox the younger, this year wrote an exhortation to the military officers, and the army, showing them how they were departed from their first integrity, and fallen into pride and wantonness.

G. Fox the elder, about the tenth month, was at Norwich, where a meeting being appointed, and the mayor having got notice of it, intended to have given out a warrant to apprehend him, but he having heard of this, sent some of his friends to the mayor, to speak with him about it ; and his answer was that he feared such a meeting would cause tumults in the town. But being spoken to in a kind way, he behaved himself moderately, and a large peaceable meeting was kept ; to which, among others, several priests also came, and among these was one Townsend, who stood up and cried, 'Error, Blasphemy,' &c. G. Fox desired him not to burden himself with that which he could not make good. But he asserted it to be error and blasphemy, that G. Fox had said that people must wait upon God by his power and Spirit, and feel his presence when they did not speak words. On this G. Fox asked him, whether the apostles and holy men of God, did not hear God speak to them in their silence, before they spake forth the Scripture, and before it was written ? He replied 'Yes,' and confirmed it by saying plainly, that David and the prophets did so. Then G. Fox showed the people how absurd it was, that Townsend had called such a practice error and blasphemy. This so puzzled Townsend, that he said, 'O this is not that George Fox I would speak withal ; but this is a subtle man.' Now when some of the auditory called to the priest, and bade him prove the

blasphemy and error which he had charged G. Fox with, he went away; and being afterwards spoken to by George Whitehead and Richard Hubberthorn, who were then also about Norwich, he was soon confounded and brought down.

The committee of safety being now in power, Edmond Ludlow continued to urge the restoring of the parliament; and general Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, aiming at the restoration of the king, yet wrote to the speaker, Lenthall, that he would act for the parliament: and so it was restored.

G. Fox the younger, wrote to this parliament a letter, wherein he told them, that their day was turned into darkness; and that the sun was gone down over them. Yea, that the decree was gone out, and sealed against them, and it could not be recalled: with many other remarkable expressions. He had written at other times to the army, and the parliament, as did also Richard Hubberthorn, which to avoid prolixity I pass by.

Let us now again take a view of the persecution in New England. I have already made mention of Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, and their son Josiah, of whom more is to be said hereafter: but first I will speak of Daniel and Provided, son and daughter of the said Lawrence and Cassandra. These children seeing how unreasonably their honest parents and brother were dealt with, were so far from being deterred thereby, that they rather felt themselves encouraged to follow their steps, and not to frequent the assemblies of such a persecuting generation; for which absence they were fined ten pounds, though it was well known they had no estate, their parents being already brought to poverty, by their rapacious persecutors. To get this money, the following order was issued in the general court at Boston.

‘Whereas Daniel Southick, and Provided Southick, son and daughter of Lawrence Southick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, have been fined by the courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates, and resolving not to work, the court, upon perusal of a law, which was made upon the account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolves, that the treasurers of the several counties are, and shall be fully empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation, at Virginia, or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines, &c.

‘Edward Rawson, Secretary.’

The subject of this order was answered effectually at large in print, by G. Bishop, who showed the unreasonableness of this work very plainly from sacred writ; as from Amos ii. 6, where

the judgments of God are denounced against those who sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; and from Levit. xxv. 42, where the making the children of Israel bondmen, is expressly forbidden; this being not lawful, but in the case of theft, if the thief had nothing to make satisfaction with. But to return to Daniel and Provided, there wanted nothing but the execution of the said order against them. Wherefore Edmund Butter, one of the treasurers, to get something of the booty, sought out for passage, to send them to Barbadoes for sale; but none were willing to take or carry them: and a certain master of a ship, to put the thing off, pretended, that they would spoil all the ship's company. To which Butter returned, 'No, you need not fear that, for they are poor harmless creatures, and will not hurt any body.' 'Will they not so,' replied the shipmaster; 'and will you offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?' Thus Butter, maugre his wicked intention, the winter being at hand, sent them home again, to shift for themselves, till he could get a convenient opportunity to send them away.

It happened also in this year, that a girl, about eleven years old, named Patience Scot, whose religious mother had been cruelly whipped by these people, bore witness against their wicked persecution; which so incensed the persecutors, that they sent her to prison: and the child having been examined, spoke so well to the purpose, that she confounded her enemies; some of which confessed, that they had many children, who had been well educated, and that it were well if they could say half so much for God, as she could for the devil. But this child not being of years to be obnoxious to the law, how wicked soever they were, it seems they could not resolve to proceed to banishment, as they did with others.

All that hitherto I have said of the New England persecution, is but cursorily, and only a very small part of those manifold whippings that were inflicted there; besides the extortions of fines, which were exorbitant to a high degree; as may appear by what was done to William Maston, at Hampton, who was fined ten pounds for two books found in his house, five pounds for not frequenting their church, and three pounds besides, as a due to the priest: and he not being free in conscience to pay this fine, had taken from him what amounted to more than twenty pounds. I find also, that not long after this time, above a thousand pounds was extorted from some, only because they had separated themselves from the persecuting church: and it seems they were deemed such as were shut out from the protection of the law; insomuch that Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth, did not stick to say, that in his conscience the Quakers were such a people, that deserved to be destroyed, they, their wives, and

children, their houses and lands, without pity or mercy. I find also that one Humphrey Norton at Newhaven, for being a Quaker, was whipped severely, and burnt in the hand with the letter H. to signify heretic.

This cruelty of the English did also stir up the Dutch to persecution: for without inquiring what kind of people the Quakers were, they seemed ready to conclude them to be men of pernicious opinions, since those of their own nation, who pretended to more purity than other Protestants, did so severely persecute them.

It happened that one Robert Hodshone, being in the Dutch plantation at Hamstead, had a meeting with some of his friends that were English, and lived there; but as he was walking in an orchard, an officer came and took hold of him, and brought him before one Gildersleave, an Englishman, and a magistrate there, who committed him to prison, and rode to the Dutch governor to acquaint him therewith: and coming back with a guard of musqueteers, the fiscal searched the prisoner, and took away his knife, papers, and Bible, and pinioned him, and kept him so all night, and the next day. And making inquiry after those that entertained him, he took into custody two women on that occasion, one of which had two small children, the one yet sucking at her breast. Then they got a cart and carried the women away in it, and Robert was fastened to the hinder part of the cart, pinioned, and so drawn through the woods in the night season, whereby he was much torn and abused. And being come to New Amsterdam, (now New York,) he was loosed, and led by the rope, with which he had been fastened to the cart, to the dungeon, being a filthy place, full of vermin; and the two women were carried to another place. Some time after, he was examined, there being one captain Willet of Plymouth, who had much incensed the governor against him, who before had been moderate. The conclusion was, that a sentence was read in Dutch, to Robert, to this effect, that he was to work two years at the wheelbarrow with a negro, or pay, or cause to be paid, six hundred guilders. To this he attempted to make his defence in a sober way, but was not suffered to speak, and sent to the dungeon again; where no English were suffered to come to him. After some days he was taken out, and pinioned, and being set with his face towards the court-chamber, his hat was taken off, and another sentence read to him in Dutch, which he did not understand: but that it displeased many of that nation, did appear by the shaking of their heads. Then he was cast again into the dungeon, where he was kept some days.

At length, betimes in the morning, he was haled out, and chained to a wheelbarrow, and commanded to work: to which he answered, he was never brought up, nor used to such a work. Upon which they made a negro to take a pitched rope, nigh four

inches about, and to beat him ; who did so, till Robert fell down. Then they took him up again, and caused the negro to beat him with the said rope, until he fell down the second time, and it was believed that he received about one hundred blows. Thus he was kept all that day in the heat of the sun, chained to the wheelbarrow ; and his body being much bruised and swelled with the blows, and he kept without food, grew very faint, and sat upon the ground, with his mind retired to the Lord, and resigned to his will, whereby he felt himself supported. At night he was locked up again in the dungeon, and the next morning he was chained again to the wheelbarrow, and a centinel set over him, that none might come so much as to speak with him. On the third day he was had forth, and chained in like manner ; and no wonder that he still refused to work, for besides the unreasonableness of requiring such a servile work of him who had committed no evil, he was not in a condition to perform it, being made altogether unable by the cruel blows given him. In this weak state he was brought before the governor, who demanded him to work, otherwise he said, he should be whipped every day. Robert asked him what law he had broken ? and called for his accusers, that he might know his transgression. But instead of an answer he was chained to the wheelbarrow again, and threatened, that if he spake to any one, he should be punished worse. Yet he did not forbear to speak to some that came to him, so as he saw meet, and thought convenient. Then seeing they could not keep him silent, they put him into the dungeon again, and kept him close there several days, and two nights ; one day and a half of it, without bread or water.

After this, he was brought very early in the morning, into a private room, and stripped to the waist, and hung up by his hands, and a great log of wood tied to his feet, so that he could not turn his body ; and then a strong negro was set to whip him with rods, who laid many stripes upon him, which cut his flesh very much. Then he was let down again, and put into the dungeon as before, and none suffered to come to him. Two days after he was had forth again, and hung up as before, and many more stripes were laid upon him by another negro. He almost fainting, and not knowing but his life might be taken away, desired that some English might be suffered to come to him : which was granted, and an English woman came and washed his stripes, finding him brought so low, that she thought he would not live till the next morning. And she telling this to her husband, it made such an impression upon him, that he went to the fiscal and proffered him a fat ox, to suffer Robert to be at his house until he was well again. But the fiscal would not permit this, unless the whole fine was paid. And though there were some that would willingly have paid the fine for him, yet he could not

consent to it; but within three days after he had thus been whipped, he was made whole and as strong as before, and was free to labour, that he might not be burthensome to any. Some others of those called Quakers, (who came thither from the plantations in New England to enjoy liberty of conscience, and whose names and sufferings I pass by for brevity's sake,) met also with hard measure from the governor, by the instigation of the aforesaid captain Willet. Robert now, though guiltless, being kept like a slave, to hard work, it raised compassion in many, and the governor's sister, who was much affected with his sufferings, became instrumental in obtaining his liberty; for she so plied her brother, that he at length set him free without paying one penny, or any body for him; by which the governor showed, that though he had been too easily wrought upon to commit evil, yet he was not come near to that height of malice, as the New England persecutors; who increased in their hard-heartedness, and became inured to cruelty, insomuch that if any one amongst them would not give his vote for persecution, he was counted unworthy to be a magistrate: as appears by a letter of one James Cudworth, written some time before to one of his friends in Old England, wherein I meet with these words:

‘As for the state and condition of things amongst us, it is sad. The antichristian persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the powers of this world. He that will not whip and lash, persecute, and punish men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench, nor sustain any office in the commonwealth. Last election Mr. Hatherly and myself left the bench, and myself was discharged of my captainship, because I had entertained some of the Quakers at my house, that thereby I might be the better acquainted with their principles. I thought it better to do so, than with the blind world to censure, condemn, rail at, and revile them, when they neither saw their persons, nor knew any thing of their principles. But the Quakers and myself cannot close in divers things; and so I signified to the court I was no Quaker, but must give my testimony against sundry things that they held, as I had occasion and opportunity. But withal, I told them, that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no persecutor.’

Now I shall enter upon the narrative of their putting some to death, who died martyrs; for this was yet wanting to complete the tragedy, which it seems could not be done to the satisfaction of the actors, without playing a murdering part.

The two first that sealed their testimony with their blood, were William Robinson, merchant of London, and Marmaduke Stevenson, a countryman of Yorkshire. These coming to Boston in the beginning of September, were sent for by the court of

assistants, and there sentenced to banishment on pain of death. This sentence was passed also on Mary Dyar, mentioned heretofore, and Nicholas Davis, who were both at Boston. But William Robinson, being looked upon as a teacher, was also condemned to be whipped severely; and the constable was commanded to get an able man to it. Then Robinson was brought into the street, and there stripped; and having his hands put through the holes of the carriage of a great gun, where the gaoler held him, the executioner gave him twenty stripes with a three-fold cord whip. Then he and the other prisoners were shortly released, and banished; which that it was for no other reason but their being Quakers, may appear by the following warrant:

‘ You are required by these, presently to set at liberty William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyar, and Nicholas Davis, who by an order of the court and council, had been imprisoned, because it appeared by their own confession, words, and actions, that they are Quakers; wherefore a sentence was pronounced against them, to depart this jurisdiction on pain of death, and that they must answer it at their peril, if they, or any of them, after the 14th of this present month September, are found within this jurisdiction, or any part thereof.

‘ Edward Rawson.’

Boston, September 12, 1659.

Now though Mary Dyar and Nicholas Davis left that jurisdiction for that time, yet Robinson and Stevenson though they departed the town of Boston, could not yet resolve (not being free in mind) to depart that jurisdiction, though their lives were at stake. And so they went to Salem, and some place thereabout to visit and build up their friends in the faith. But it was not long before they were taken, and put again into prison at Boston, and chains locked to their right legs. In the next month Mary Dyar returned also. And as she stood before the prison, speaking with one Christopher Holder, who was come thither to inquire for a ship bound for England, whither he intended to go, she was also taken into custody. Thus they had three persons, who, according to their sanguinary law, had forfeited their lives. And on the 20th of October, these three were brought into the court, where John Endicot and others were assembled. And being called to the bar, Endicot commanded the keeper to pull off their hats: and then said, that they had made several laws to keep the Quakers from amongst them; and neither whipping, nor imprisoning, nor cutting off ears, nor banishing upon pain of death, would keep them from amongst them. And further he said, that he or they desired not the death of any of them. Yet

notwithstanding, his following words, without more ado, were, 'Give hear, and hearken to your sentence of death.' W. Robinson then desired that he might be permitted to read a paper, giving an account of the reason why he had not departed that jurisdiction. But Endicot would not suffer it to be read, and said in a rage, 'You shall not read it, nor will the court hear it read.' Then Robinson laid it on the table. He had written this paper the day before, and some of the contents were, that he being in Rhode Island, the Lord had commanded him to go to Boston, and to lay down his life there. That he also had felt an assurance that his soul was to enter into everlasting peace, and eternal rest. That he durst not but obey, without inquiring further concerning it; believing that it became him as a child, to show obedience to the Lord, without any unwillingness. That this was the cause, why after banishment on pain of death, he staid in their jurisdiction: and that now with sincerity of heart he could say, Blessed be the Lord, the God of my life, who hath called me hereunto, and counted me worthy to testify against wicked and unjust men, &c. This paper being handed to Endicot, he read it to himself, and after he had done, said to Robinson, 'You need not keep such ado to have it read; for you spoke yesterday more than here is written.' Yet this was not so; for it contained a circumstantial relation of the divine operations on his mind; and that he was not come there in his own will but in obedience to his Creator: and that travelling in Rhode Island, on the 8th of the eighth month, he had been moved thereto from the Lord, and therefore had submitted to his divine pleasure without murmuring. W. Robinson desiring again that the paper might be read, that so all that were present might hear it, it was denied him, and Endicot said, 'W. Robinson hearken to your sentence of death; you shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead.' This sentence was not altogether unexpected to W. Robinson; for it was four months now that he had believed this would be his share.

Robinson being taken away, M. Stevenson was called, and Endicot said to him, 'If you have any thing to say, you may speak.' He knowing how they dealt with his companion, was silent, though he had also written in prison a paper, containing the cause of his being come there; but he kept it with him, and found afterwards occasion to deliver it to somebody. Then Endicot pronounced sentence of death against him, saying, 'M. Stevenson, you shall be had to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead.' Whereupon M. Stevenson spoke thus: 'Give ear, ye magistrates, and all who are guilty; for this the Lord hath said concerning you, and will perform his word upon you, that the

same day ye put his servants to death, shall the day of your visitation pass over your heads, and you shall be cursed for ever more. The mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it. Therefore in love to you all, I exhort you to take warning before it be too late, that so the curse may be removed. For assuredly if you put us to death, you will bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and swift destruction will come upon you.'

After he had spoken this, he was taken away, and Mary Dyar was called: to whom Endicot spoke thus: 'Mary Dyar, you shall go to the place from whence you came, (to wit the prison,) and from thence to the place of execution, and be hanged there until you are dead.' To which she replied, 'The will of the Lord be done.' Then Endicot said, 'Take her away, marshal.' To which she returned, 'Yea, joyfully I go.' And in her going to the prison, she often uttered speeches of praise to the Lord; and, being full of joy, she said to the marshal, he might let her alone, for she would go to the prison without him. To which he answered, 'I believe you, Mrs. Dyar: but I must do what I am commanded.' Thus she was led to prison, where she was kept a week, with the two other her companions, that were also condemned to die.

The paper of Marmaduke Stevenson, mentioned before, which he gave forth after he had received sentence of death, was thus:

'In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough, in the east parts of Yorkshire, in Old England, near the place where my outward being was, and as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it; for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream, so did the love and life of God run through me like precious ointment, giving a pleasant smell, which made me to stand still; and as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed on the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a still small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me, in the secret of my heart and conscience,—'I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.'—And at the hearing of the word of the Lord, I was put to a stand, being that I was but a child for such a weighty matter. So at the time appointed, Barbadoes was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear and loving wife, and tender children: for the Lord said unto me immediately by his Spirit, that he would be as a husband to my wife, and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for he would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed that the Lord would perform what he had spoken, because I was made

willing to give up myself to his work and service, to leave all and follow him, whose presence and life is with me, where I rest in peace and quietness of spirit (with my dear brother) under the shadow of his wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for his own name sake, if unmerciful men be suffered to take them from us ; and if they do, we know we shall have peace and rest with the Lord for ever in his holy habitation, when they shall have torment night and day. So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbadoes, in the fourth month, 1658. So, after I had been some time on the said island in the service of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death, if they returned after they were sentenced away, which did come near me at that time ; and as I considered the thing, and pondered it in my heart, immediately came the word of the Lord unto me, saying, 'Thou knowest not but that thou mayest go thither.' But I kept this word in my heart, and did not declare it to any until the time appointed. So, after that, a vessel was made ready for Rhode Island, which I passed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, visiting the seed which the Lord hath blessed, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, 'Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson.' And at his command I was obedient, and gave up myself to do his will, that so his work and service may be accomplished : for he hath said unto me, that he hath a great work for me to do ; which is now come to pass : and for yielding obedience to, and obeying the voice and command of the ever-living God, who created heaven and earth, and the fountains of waters, do I, with my dear brother, suffer outward bonds near unto death. And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know, who hear it, that we came not in our own wills, but in the will of God. Given forth by me, who am known to men by the name of

'Marmaduke Stephenson.'

'But have a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the Book of Life.'

Written in Boston prison, in
the 8th month, 1659.

Mary Dyar being returned to prison, wrote the following letter, which she sent to the rulers of Boston.

To the General Court in Boston.

'Whereas I am by many charged with the guiltiness of my own blood ; if you mean in my coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and justified by the Lord, in whose will I came, who will re-

quire my blood of you, be sure, who have made a law to take away the lives of the innocent servants of God, if they come among you, who are called by you, cursed Quakers; although I say, and am a living witness for them and the Lord, that he hath blessed them, and sent them unto you: therefore be not found fighters against God, but let my counsel and request be accepted with you, to repeal all such laws, that the Truth and servants of the Lord may have free passage among you, and you be kept from shedding innocent blood, which I know there are many among you would not do, if they knew it so to be; nor can the enemy that stirreth you up thus to destroy this holy seed, in any measure countervail the great damage that you will, by thus doing, procure. Therefore, seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth upon me, in love to your souls, thus to persuade you. I have no self-ends the Lord knoweth; for if my life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it of you, so long as I should daily hear or see the sufferings of these people, my dear brethren, and the seed, with whom my life is bound up, as I have done these two years; and now it is like to increase, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among you. Was ever the like laws heard of among a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? And have such no other weapons but such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you! Of whom take ye counsel? search with the light of Christ in you, and it will show you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been disobedient and deceived, as now ye are: which light as you come into, and obeying what is made manifest to you therein, you will not repent that you were kept from shedding blood, though it were by a woman. It is not mine own life I seek (for I choose rather to suffer with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Egypt,) but the life of the seed, which I know the Lord hath blessed, and therefore seeks the enemy thus vehemently to destroy the life thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken not unto him, I beseech you, for the seed's sake, which is one in all, and is dear in the sight of God, which they that touch, touch the apple of his eye, and cannot escape his wrath; whereof I having felt, cannot but persuade all men that I have to do withal, especially you who name the name of Christ, to depart from such iniquity as shedding blood, even of the saints of the Most High. Therefore, let my request have as much acceptance with you if you be Christians, as Esther's had with Ahasuerus, whose relation is short of that that is between Christians; and my request is the same that hers was: and he said not that he had made a law, and that it would be dishonourable for him to revoke it; but when he understood that those people were so prized by her, and so nearly concerned her, as in truth these are to me, you may see what he did for her. Therefore, I leave these lines with you, appealing to the faith-

ful and true witness of God, which is one in all consciences, before whom we must all appear ; with whom I shall eternally rest, in everlasting joy and peace, whether you will hear or forbear. With him is my reward, with whom to live is my joy, and to die is my gain, though I had not had your forty-eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar.

‘ And know this also, that if through the enmity you shall declare yourselves worse than Ahasuerus, and confirm your law, though it were but by taking away the life of one of us, that the Lord will overthrow both your law and you, by his righteous judgments and plagues poured justly upon you, who now whilst ye are warned thereof, and tenderly sought unto, may avoid the one, by removing the other. If you neither hear, nor obey the Lord nor his servants, yet will he send more of his servants among you, so that your end shall be frustrated, that think to restrain them ye call cursed Quakers, from coming among you, by any thing you can do to them. Yea, verily, he hath a seed here among you, for whom we have suffered all this while, and yet suffer ; whom the Lord of the harvest will send forth more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of the devourers of all sorts, into his fold, where he will lead them into fresh pastures, even the paths of righteousness, for his name’s sake. Oh, let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the light of the Lord I see approaching, even to many in and about Boston, which is the bitterest and darkest professing place, and so to continue so long as you have done, that ever I heard of. Let the time past therefore suffice, for such a profession as brings forth such fruits as these laws are. In love, and in the spirit of meekness, I again beseech you, for I have no enmity to the persons of any ; but you shall know, that God will not be mocked ; but what ye sow, that shall ye reap from him, that will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Even so be it, saith,

‘ Mary Dyar.’

A copy of this was given to the general court after Mary Dyar had received sentence of death, about the 8th or 9th month, 1659.

The day appointed to execute the bloody sentence, was the 27th of October, when in the afternoon the condemned prisoners were led to the gallows by the marshal Michaelson, and captain James Oliver, with a band of about two hundred armed men, besides many horsemen ; as if they were afraid that some of the people would have rescued the prisoners : and that no actors on the stage might be wanting the priest Wilson joined the company, who when the court deliberated how to deal with the Quakers, said,

‘ Hang them, or else’ (drawing his finger athwart his throat, as if he would have said) ‘ dispatch ’em this way.’ Now the march began, and a drummer going next before the condemned, the drums were beaten, especially when any of them attempted to speak. Glorious signs of heavenly joy and gladness were beheld in the countenances of these three persons, who walked hand in hand, Mary being the middlemost ; which made the marshal say to her, who was pretty aged, and stricken in years, ‘ Are not you ashamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men ?’ ‘ No,’ replied she, ‘ this is to me an hour of the greatest joy I could enjoy in this world. No eye can see, nor ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes, or influence, and the refreshings, of the Spirit of the Lord, which now I feel.’ Thus going along, W. Robinson said, ‘ This is your hour, and the power of darkness.’ But presently the drums were beaten ; yet shortly after, the drummers leaving off beating, Marmaduke Stevenson said, ‘ This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you.’ More he spoke, but could not be understood, by reason of the drums being beaten again. Yet they went on with great cheerfulness, as going to an everlasting wedding-feast, and rejoicing that the Lord had counted them worthy to suffer death for his name’s sake.

When they were come near the gallows, the priest said in a taunting way to W. Robinson, ‘ Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on ?’ To which Robinson replied, ‘ Mind you, mind you, it is for the not putting off the hat we are put to death !’ Now being come to the ladder, they took leave of each other with tender embraces, and then Robinson went cheerfully up the ladder, and being got up, said to the people, ‘ This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you : this is the day the Lord is risen in his mighty power, to be avenged on all his adversaries.’ He also signified, that he suffered not as an evil doer ; and desired the spectators to mind the light that was in them, to wit, the Light of Christ, of which he testified, and was now going to seal it with his blood. This so incensed the envious priest, that he said, ‘ Hold thy tongue ; be silent ; thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth.’ The rope being now about his neck, the executioner bound his hands and legs, and tied his neckcloth about his face : which being done, Robinson said, ‘ Now ye are made manifest ;’ and the executioner being about turning him off, he said, ‘ I suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die.’ He being turned off, Marmaduke Stephenson stepped up the ladder, and said, ‘ Be it known unto all this day, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience-sake.’ And when the hangman was about to turn him off, he said, ‘ This day shall we be at rest with the Lord :’ and so he was turned off.

Mary Dyar seeing her companions hanging dead before her, also stepped up the ladder ; but after her coats were tied about her feet, the halter put about her neck, and her face covered with a handkerchief, which the priest Wilson lent the hangman, just as she was to be turned off, a cry was heard, ‘Stop, for she is reprieved.’ Her feet then being loosed, they bade her come down. But she whose mind was already as it were in heaven, stood still, and said, she was there willing to suffer as her brethren did, unless they would annul their wicked law. Little heed was given to what she said, but they pulled her down, and the marshal and others taking her by the arms, carried her to prison again. That she thus was freed from the gallows this time, was at the intercession of her son, to whom it seems they could not then resolve to deny that favour. She now having heard why she was reprieved, wrote the next day, being the 28th of October, the following letter to the court :

The 28th of the eighth month, 1659.

‘Once more to the general court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in comparison of the lives and liberty of the Truth, and servants of the living God, for which in the bowels of love and meekness I sought you : yet, nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked is cruelty. I rather choose to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood : therefore, seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge, and Searcher of all hearts, who, with the pure measure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose servants you are, and of whom you have taken counsel, which I desire you to search into : but all his counsel hath been slighted, and you would none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own master. In obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, and pity to your souls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no less than once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your doings ; and kiss the Son, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you ; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all ; and if these things be not so, then say, there hath been no prophet from the Lord sent amongst you ; though we be nothing, yet it is his pleasure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

‘When I heard your last order read, it was a disturbance unto me, that was so freely offering up my life to him that gave it me, and sent me hither so to do, which obedience being his own work,

he gloriously accompanied with his presence, and peace, and love in me, in which I rested from my labour ; till by your order and the people, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to prison, and there remain forty and eight hours ; to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleasure and counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days ; and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

‘ Mary Dyar.’

The magistrates now perceiving that the putting William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson to death, caused great discontent among the people, resolved to send away Mary Dyar, thereby to calm their minds a little. And so she was put on horseback, and by four horsemen conveyed fifteen miles towards Rhode Island, where she was left with a horse and a man, to be conveyed the rest of the way : which she soon sent back, and so repaired home. By the style of her letters, and her undaunted carriage, it appears that she had indeed some extraordinary qualities ; I find also that she was of a comely and grave countenance, of a good family and estate, and a mother of several children : but her husband it seems was of another persuasion

Whilst I now leave her at home, I am to say that one John Chamberlain, an inhabitant of Boston, having seen the execution of W. Robinson and M. Stevenson, was so reached by their pious speeches, that he received the doctrine of the Truth, for which they died : but his visiting those in prison was so ill resented, that afterwards he was whipped several times severely ; as was also Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem : who having said that the guilt of Robinson’s and Stevenson’s blood was so great and heavy, that he was not able to bear it, was, for this his pretended sauciness, whipped with twenty lashes, and fined twenty pounds.

But before I quite leave the persons that were hanged, I must say, that being dead, their countenance still looked fresh ; (for the terror of death had not seized them.) But being cut down, they were very barbarously used, none taking hold of their bodies : which so fell down on the ground, that thereby the skull of W. Robinson was broken ; and even their shirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies cast into a hole which was digged, without any covering. And when some of their friends would have laid their bodies into coffins, it was denied them. Neither would they suffer the place where the bodies were cast, to be fenced with pales, lest ravenous beasts might prey upon them.

When the people returned from the execution, many seemed sad and heavy ; and coming to the draw-bridge, one end of it fell upon some, and several were hurt, especially a wicked woman,

who had reviled the said two persons at their death ; but now she was so bruised, that her flesh rotted from her bones, which made such a noisome stink, that people could not endure to be with her : in which miserable condition she remained till she died. But the magistrates, instead of taking notice of this, grew more hardened ; and priest Wilson did not stick to make a ballad on the executed.

Now I return again to Mary Dyar, who being come to Rhode Island, went from thence to Long Island, where she staid the most part of the winter : and then coming home again, she was moved to return to the bloody town of Boston, whither she came on the 21st of the third month, 1660, and on the 31st she was sent for by the general court. Being come, the governor, John Endicot, said, ‘ Are you the same Mary Dyar that was here before ? ’ And it seems he was preparing an evasion for her, there having been another of that name returned from Old England. But she was so far from disguising, that she answered undauntedly, ‘ I am the same Mary Dyar that was here the last general court. ’ Then Endicot said, ‘ You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not ? ’ To which Mary Dyar said, ‘ I own myself to be reproachfully called so. ’ Then the gaoler (who would also say something) said, ‘ She is a vagabond. ’ And Endicot said, the sentence was past upon her the last general court, and now likewise : ‘ You must return to the prison, and there remain till to-morrow at nine o’clock ; then from thence you must go to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead. ’ To which Mary Dyar said, ‘ This is no more than what thou saidst before. ’ And Endicot returned, ‘ But now it is to be executed ; therefore prepare yourself to-morrow at nine o’clock. ’ She then spoke thus : ‘ I came in obedience to the will of God the last general court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of banishment on pain of death ; and that same is my work now, and earnest request ; although I told you, that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them. ’ Hereupon Endicot asked her, whether she was a prophetess ? And she answered, she spoke the words that the Lord spoke in her ; and now the thing was come to pass. And beginning to speak of her call, Endicot cried, ‘ Away with her ; away with her. ’ So she was brought to the prison-house where she was before, and kept close shut up until the next day.

About the appointed time the marshal Michaelson came, and called her to come hastily ; and coming into the room where she was, she desired him to stay a little ; and speaking mildly, said, she should be ready presently. But he being of a rough temper, said he could not wait upon her, but she should now wait upon him. One Margaret Smith, her companion, being grieved to see such hard-heartedness, spoke something against their unjust laws and proceedings : to which he said, ‘ You shall have your share

of the same.' Then Mary Dyar was brought forth, and with a band of soldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and so continued, that none might hear her speak all the way to the place of execution, which was about a mile. With this guard she came to the gallows, and being gone up the ladder, some said to her, that if she would return, she might come down and save her life. To which she replied, 'Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death.' Then captain John Webb said, that she had been there before, and had the sentence of banishment upon pain of death, and had broken the law in coming again now; and therefore she was guilty of her own blood. To which she returned, 'Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord; therefore my blood will be required at your hands, who wilfully do it: but for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will, I stand even to death.' Then priest Wilson said, 'Mary Dyar, O repent, O repent, and be not so deluded, and carried away by the deceit of the devil.' To this Mary Dyar answered, 'Nay, man, I am not now to repent.' And being asked by some, whether she would have the elders pray for her, she said, 'I know never an elder here.' Being further asked, whether she would have any of the people to pray for her? She answered, she desired the prayers of all the people of God. Thereupon some scoffingly said, 'It may be she thinks there is none here.' She looking about said, 'I know but few here.' Then they spoke to her again, that one of the elders might pray for her. To which she replied, 'Nay, first a child, then a young man, then a strong man, before an elder in Christ Jesus.' After this she was charged with something which was not understood what it was, but she seemed to hear it; for she said, 'It is false, it is false; I never spoke those words.' Then one mentioned that she should have said, she had been in paradise. To which she answered, 'Yea, I have been in paradise several days.' And more she spoke of the eternal happiness into which she was now to enter. In this well-disposed condition she was turned off, and died a martyr of Christ, being twice led to death, which the first time she expected with undaunted courage, and now suffered with Christian fortitude.

Thus this honest, valiant woman finished her days: but so hardened were these persecutors, that one of the court said scoffingly, 'She did hang as a flag for others to take example by.' And putting to death for religion did not yet cease, as will be related hereafter: but first I will take a turn again to Old England,

where there was now great division, and a revolution in the state.

About the beginning of this year, E. Burrough wrote the following letter to the parliament, which then had the power again in their hands.

‘ Friends,

‘ All these overturnings, and almost wonderful changings, were effected through the justice of the Lord’s hand. You are now again at the stern of government, and on the throne ; and I dare not but say it is of and by the Lord, and that he hath done it contrary to the expectations of many ; and what his end is in it, remains with him. But I am sure one cause is, that you may execute part of his wrath upon that treacherous generation of hypocritical and deceitful men, some of the army I mean. I need not say to you, how that many of them were raised up from a low estate ; and, instead of serving the nation, became their lords and oppressors : they have abused the Lord’s mercy to them, and exalted themselves, and became as great oppressors, and as grievous to the nation, as ever they were that went before them ; and some of them took the very titles and estates of their enemies, and followed their evil spirit also, though the Lord was long suffering to them, and gave them a day ; and put opportunity into their hands, wherein they might have done good ; but they also neglected to serve God and the nation, to serve themselves ; and because of the ambition and pride of some of them, the Lord suffered them to make this last interruption upon you, which was great treachery in man’s account, that thereby their measure might be filled up, and that he might give you occasion against them, and suffer you to be filled with indignation towards them, to break them to pieces : and what you do to some of them, in casting them out, and afflicting them, you are but God’s executioners therein ; you are the executioners of his anger, in what you do to them ; and who shall prevent you, or forbid you to go on ? For they have long enough dissembled with this nation, in professing more than others, and doing less : and their downfall is now. And God hath looked upon you to be hard-hearted and cruel enough, and very fit executioners of vengeance upon such men, as I have mentioned.

‘ But now concerning you, and your present state, as you are in present place and power, I have something to say to you ; though they are fallen, and you yet stand, and you have a little time after them ; but this I say, do not glory over their fall, neither glory as though you should stand for ever ; for they were not greater sinners than you are, neither are you one whit more righteous than some of them ; but you are as sure to fall, as they are fallen, with no less measure of dishonour and affliction than is

come upon them : and you are in your last hour : and I dare not say, that God expects much more from you than for the end aforesaid, viz. to be the executioners of justice upon men as sinful as yourselves: so do not glory over them that are fallen; but know that your time also is but short, and your fall may prove to your destruction, and theirs may prove to make them better, and refine them; and if God hath chosen you to execute some part of his wrath upon them, for their wickedness, he will doubtless find instruments to execute his wrath upon you, else he will do it with his own hand; for he purposeth not to spare you; for your sins cry as loud as any other people's, and the oppressions are as great under you, as under them whom you condemn. And I desire, if there be any good men amongst you, that such who are wise may consider, and mind the hand of the Lord in and through all these things that are come to pass; for God is working as well as you, he is seeking to set up a kingdom as well as you, and his government and yours cannot stand together; and he will make you know that he is stronger, and his government of more force, and your kingdom cannot stand in place with his.

‘ Therefore, O that you would take heed! O that you would be wise, if so be some of you may be spared! and be not too zealous in your way, nor too furious in your proceedings; do but to others as you intend to receive from others, and from the Lord; and go not beyond your commission; for a permission at least you have had from God, even to scourge hypocrites, and to be a judgment upon that hypocritical, seeming religious generation of men aforesaid; which have many a time, as it were, mocked God, and pretended love to him with their lips, when their hearts have yearned after self-honour, and treasures of this world: I say, your present hour and permission is for this end, but not to persecute the people of the Lord, nor to destroy God's heritage; but if you shall extend your power unto such a work, and if you do persecute the innocent without cause, and make war against the Lamb and his followers, and make laws and execute them to the oppression of the saints of the Most High, then you go beyond your commission; for God hath not called you unto this, but to be instruments in another cause. And the children of Zion, they trust in the living God, and fear not the terror of mighty men, neither can they be afraid at the roaring of the sea, nor at the present threatening of the heathen, for God is with them. And I say unto you, the servant of the Lord hath pondered and considered all these proceedings, and viewed the present state of things at this day, and there is no vision from God unto you of peace and comfort, nor of a happy and lasting government, as you now stand: if any prophet shall divine this unto you, he speaks what he hath not from the Lord, but the vision of his own heart, and he deceives you and himself; for you are not established upon a right founda-

tion, neither are you acted by a right spirit, which can truly govern for God ; but the spirit of wrath and fury is put into you, for the work which you are called. And I know not how to warn you, that you do not persecute the people of God : for why ? It may be you must fill up your measure of wickedness thereby, that God may break you perpetually ; yet the less will be your judgment, if you do it not : but and if you do it, the Lord will take occasion against you, to wound you, and you shall never be healed, and as you do afflict others, so and much more shall it be done unto you from the Lord.

‘ Wherefore consider what I have said ; for this is the vision of the Almighty unto you, that shall not go unfulfilled : and what you do, you must do it quickly ; for your time is short, and your power will God subdue ; and his kingdom and power will he speedily exalt over your heads, and make you and the nations know that he is God, and that all power is with him, and that he can do whatsoever he will ; and it is his right alone to reign, and his children’s portion to possess the kingdom with him. Let the whole earth, and all the powers thereof, bow and tremble before him : let not your hearts be stout and rebellious against him, for he can grind you to powder, and sink you into confusion and misery, as a stone into the sea.’

This was directed for the hands of the speaker in parliament, and accordingly was given to William Lenthal, being inclosed to him with these lines following :

‘ Friend,

‘ The inclosed I do commend unto thee to present unto the house, and to endeavour sincerely the reading of it in your assembly ; for it is of special concernment to you all ; and in the name of the Lord, and by his Spirit, I do charge thee not to be negligent in this matter, as though it were not of worth to you ; and I do lay it upon thee, as a work of righteousness and truth, to be done by thee, as thou wilt answer the contrary at the dreadful day of God, when the King of righteousness shall judge thee and all mankind.

‘ E. Burrough.’

The 24th of the Eleventh month, 1659.

This parliament did so lord it, that about fifteen hundred military officers were cashiered, and others put into their places.

About this time George Fox the younger wrote also a letter to the parliament and the army, which was as followeth :

‘ Your day into darkness is turned ; the sun is gone down over you. You have had a large day, and power given unto you, to have done the will of God ; but you have abused the power,

and slighted your day ; and you have refused to do the Lord's work, and have sought to serve yourselves, and not the Lord ; therefore, in justice and righteousness, is the day wherein you might have wrought for God, taken from you ; and the thick dark night of confusion is come upon you, wherein you are groping and stumbling, and cannot work ; the decree is gone out, and sealed against you, and it cannot be recalled ; you are not the men (as ye stand) in whom God will appear to work deliverance for his people, and creatures ; (and yet deliverance shall come, but not according to man's expectation.) But as for you, ye have rejected the counsel of the Lord, and grieved his Spirit, and he hath long borne you ; yea, you are departed from the Lord, and his presence is departed from you ; indeed he hath hewed with you, (and if you had been faithful to the end, he would have honoured and prospered you, and would have been your sufficient reward,) ye were his axe, but you have boasted yourselves against him ; therefore, as you have beaten, and hewed, and broken others, even so must you be beaten, hewed, and broken ; for you have grievously provoked the Lord : and if he should now suffer that tree, which ye have cut, to fall upon you, and to break part of you, it were just.

‘ O ye treacherous, wilful, proud, self-seeking people, who have despised the counsel of the Lord, and would not take warning, though he hath sent his prophets and servants early and late among you, some of whom you have imprisoned and despitefully used ; what will ye do now ? Whom will ye now flee unto for help ; seeing ye are departed from the Lord, and are now rending and tearing, biting and devouring one another, for proud, ambitious, self-ends ? (mark !) If you would now build again the thing that you once destroyed, that shall not be able to hide or shelter you from the wrath of the Lamb ; that way whereby you think to strengthen yourselves, thereby shall you make yourselves much weaker, and help forward your own destruction ; you are now but a rod, remember your end, which hastens greatly. Now breach upon breach, insurrection upon insurrection, overturning upon overturning, heaps upon heaps, division upon division, shall there be, until he come to reign, whose right it is ; and all nations must bow before him, else he will break them with his iron rod.

‘ They that trust in, or lean upon you for help, it is as if they leaned upon a broken reed, which is not able to help itself, nor others ; indeed you have been made to do many good things, but you would not go through with the work which God will have accomplished, and therefore are these things come upon you ; therefore tremble and dread before the Lord, ye who have been as strong oaks, and tall cedars, for now shall your strength fail you, and you shall be weak, even as the weakest of men : but if you

would yet believe in the light, and truly submit to God's righteous judgments, many of you might come to witness your souls saved, in the day of the Lord; though many of your bodies are to be thrown by (because of your grievous backslidings) as not counted worthy to be the Lord's workmen.

'There is a small remnant yet among you (for whom my soul breathes) who may be winnowed out; and if they will own the judgments of the Lord, and truly and thoroughly deny themselves, and follow his leadings, he will heal their backslidings, and purge them, that so they may be instruments in his hand; but they that will continue with you in your sins, shall partake with you of your judgments.

'The rod of the wicked shall not always rest upon the back of the righteous; yet, even as gold is tried, so shall they be, that they may be white, and without spot before the Lamb: but God will avenge their cause, and woe then will be to their oppressors; and then shall the majesty and the glory of the Lord fill his people (who have long been trodden under) and they shall be the dread of all nations; the zeal of the Lord of hosts shall perform this.

'George Fox, the younger.'

11th Month (59.)

This letter being printed, a copy of it was given to each parliament-man, before Monk with his army came into London: and how soon the predictions contained therein, as well as those of E. Burrough, in the foregoing year, came to be fulfilled, when many of the great ones were hanged and quartered, we shall see in the sequel.

General Monk came now, with part of the army he commanded, out of Scotland into England, and made great alterations among the officers, putting in such as were believed to be no enemies to Charles Stuart; for whatsoever Monk said of his resolution to be true and faithful to the parliament, and to promote the interest of a commonwealth; yet it appeared ere long that he aimed at something else; which he could do the easier, because he wanted not adherents in the parliament; though he did not stick to say to Edmund Ludlow, 'We must live and die for, and with, a commonwealth:' and to others he declared, that he would oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart. In the meanwhile he so ordered it, that many members of the parliament, that had been long excluded as unqualified, took session again in that assembly; and these brought it about, that sir George Booth, who was confined to the Tower, for having carried on a design for Charles Stuart, was set at liberty. Neither was the city of London in a condition to oppose Monk; for he caused the portcul-

lisses, and doors of the city gates, and the posts to be pulled down; and the royalists were now become so bold, that they printed a list of the names of the judges that condemned king Charles I. to death; and some of them were secured, whilst others fled away. General Lambert was also sent to the Tower; and Monk, whose authority now increased, sent for the lords, who until the year 1648, had sat in parliament, and bade them return to the house where they formerly used to sit.

In these overturnings G. Fox came to London, to wit, in the time when they were breaking the city gates. He then wrote a paper to those that were now sinking, and told them, that now the prophecies were fulfilling upon them, which had been spoken to them; and that they who used to call the Quakers fanatics, and giddy-heads, now seemed themselves giddy, and fugitives, or wanderers.

From London G. Fox went to Sussex, and from thence to Dorsetshire. At Dorchester he had a great meeting in the evening at the inn where he lodged, and there came many soldiers, who were pretty civil. But the constables and officers of the town came also, under pretence to look for a Jesuit, whose head, they said, was shaved. So they took off G. Fox's hat, but not finding any bald place on his head, they went away with shame. This was of good service among the soldiers and others, and it affected the people, who were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ.

Then he passed into Somersetshire, where his friends' meetings were often disturbed. One time there came a wicked man, who having a bear's skin on his back, played ugly pranks in the meeting; and setting himself opposite to the person that was preaching, lolled his tongue out of his mouth, and so made sport for his wicked followers, and caused great disturbance in the meeting. But as he went back from thence, an eminent judgment overtook him; for there being a bull-baiting in the way, he staid to see; and coming within his reach, the bull pushed his horn under the man's chin, into his throat, and forced his tongue out of his mouth, so that it hung out in the same manner as before he lolled it out in derision in the meeting: and the bull running his horn into the man's head, swung him about in a most fearful manner.

G. Fox travelling through Somersetshire, came into Devonshire, and so went into Cornwall, till he came to the Land's End. Whilst he was in Cornwall, there were great shipwrecks about the Land's End. Now it was the custom of that country, that at such times both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the people's lives; and this custom so prevailed, that in some parts of the country they called shipwrecks 'God's grace.' This grieved G. Fox not a little,

considering how far these professed Christians were below the heathen at Melita ; who courteously received Paul, and the others that had suffered shipwreck with him, and made him a fire. On this consideration, he was moved to write a paper to the magistrates, priests, and others, both high and low : in which he showed them the wickedness of their deeds, and reproved them for such greedy actions, telling them how they were ready to fight with one another for the spoil, and spend what they got in taverns or ale-houses, letting those that escaped drowning, go a begging up and down the country. Therefore he seriously exhorted them, to do unto others what they would have done to themselves.

This paper he sent to all the parishes thereabouts : and after having had many meetings in Cornwall, and several eminent people being convinced of the truth preached by him, he went to Bristol, where the meetings of his friends were exceedingly disturbed by the soldiers. Having heard this, he desired George Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot to go to the mayor and aldermen, and desire them to let his friends have the town-hall to meet in, provided it should not be on such days when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it ; and that for this use they would give twenty pounds a year, to be distributed among the poor. These four persons were astonished at this proposal, and said, the mayor and aldermen would think them mad ; for the mayor and the commander of the soldiers had combined together to make a disturbance in their meetings. But G. Fox so encouraged them, that at last they consented to what he desired. Being come to the mayor, he was moderate beyond expectation ; and when they had laid the thing before him, he said, for his part, he could consent to it ; but he was but one. So they left him in a loving frame of mind ; and coming back, G. Fox desired them to go also to the colonel that commanded the soldiers, and to acquaint him of their rude carriage, and how they disturbed the meetings. But the afore-said four persons were backward to go to him. Next morning being the first day of the week, a meeting was kept in an orchard, where many people came ; and after G. Fox had been preaching a pretty while, there came several rude soldiers, some with drawn swords, and some drunk, and among these, one that had bound himself with an oath, to cut down, and kill the man that spoke. But when he came pressing in through the crowd, and was within two yards of G. Fox, he stopped at those four persons before mentioned, and fell a jangling with them : but at length his sword was put up again. The next day they went and spoke with the colonel, and he having heard how mischievous his soldiers had been, sent for them, and cut and slashed some of them. When this was told G. Fox, he blamed those his friends, thinking

they might have prevented the cutting of the soldiers, if they had gone to the colonel when he would have had them. Yet this had such effect, that the meeting there was kept without disturbance a good while after.

G. Fox then also had a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Bristol, at which were several thousands of people; and so many of Bristol, that some said, the city looked naked; and all was quiet.

But in other places, about this time, things were not so quiet; for the soldiers, under general Monk's command, were often very rude in disturbing of meetings. But when complaint was made to him, who was then at Westminster, he showed, that he would not countenance such wickedness, and did in that respect better than several other generals had done, for he gave forth the following order.

' St. James's, March 9, 1659-60.

' I do require all officers and soldiers, to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.

' George Monk.'

Monk having thus long declared for a commonwealth, and against a king, began now to take off the mask; for the old lords had now taken their places again in the house of peers, out of which they had been kept so many years; and by the advice of Monk, Charles Stuart (who for several years had lived at Cologne, and, having made a voyage to Spain, was from thence come, by France, to Brussels) repaired to Breda: and in England it being resolved upon to call him back, and to restore him, he gave forth the following declaration at Breda; thereby to persuade those that were yet backward, to acknowledge him.

' Charles R.

' Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds, which have for so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long

misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible. Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and desired.

‘ And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future ; by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration both of king, peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights ; we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready upon demand to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour ; and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects ; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least endamage of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates ; or as far forth as lies in our power, so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of distinction, from the rest of our best subjects ; we desiring, and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights, and theirs, in a free parliament, by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised.

‘ And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite, in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood ; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom ; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.

‘ And because in the continual distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases

of estates, have been made to, and by, many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles. We are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

‘ And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any act, or acts of parliament, to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers, and soldiers of the army, under the command of general Monk; and that they shall be received into our service, upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

‘ Given under our sign manual and privy signet, at our court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.’

The original of this declaration was sent to the house of lords, and a duplicate in a letter to the House of Commons, and repeated and sent in a letter to general Monk, the council of state, and the officers of the army. Hereupon it was resolved by the parliament, to prepare an answer; and both in the House of Lords, and in the House of Commons, it was voted to proclaim king Charles at Whitehall, and in London, as lawful sovereign of his kingdoms, which was done on the 8th of the month called May.

Now the king, who by the Spaniards was invited to return to Brussels, and by the French to come to Calais, chose, at the pressing invitation of the States-general of the United Provinces, to go by Holland: and so he went, with the yachts of the States, to Rotterdam, and from thence with coaches to the Hague; where having staid some days, he took shipping at Schevelinghen for England, and made his entry at London on the anniversary of his birth-day. Thus we see Charles II., who not long after he was crowned, restored not by the sword, but by the marvellous hand of the Lord.

About this time G. Fox the younger came to Harwich, where he was haled out of a meeting, and imprisoned under a pretence of having caused a tumult. But to give to the reader a true sight of the matter, I must go back a little.

About four years before this time, some of the people called Quakers, being come into the said town, one of them spoke a few words by way of exhortation to the people that came from the steeple-house; and passing on, he and those with him went to an inn. The mayor hearing thereof, sent to them, commanding that they should depart the town, which they did after a

short space ; but about night they returned, and lodged at their inn, and the next day passed away peaceably. Not long after, the woman that kept the inn, was commanded to come before the magistrates ; who threatened to take away her licence, unless she promised to lodge no more such persons. But how eager soever they were for keeping out the Quakers, yet it proved ineffectual ; for it seemed some of those that had been spoken to in the streets, were so reached, that they came to be obedient to the inward teachings of the Lord they had been recommended to. And so a way was made for meetings there, whereby the number of those of that society began to increase. And because they could no longer comply with superstitious burials, they bought a piece of ground to bury their dead in, but met with great opposition at their burials ; and once, when several came along to bury a corpse, it was by force taken from them, and set by the sea side, where having lain above-ground part of two days and one night, it was privately covered by some with small stones.

In the month called May, G. Fox the younger came to Harwich, to preach the truth there. The mayor of the town, whose name was Miles Hubbard, having heard of this, stopped several that were going to the meeting. The rude multitude seeing it, grew insolent, and made a hideous noise before the house where the meeting was kept, and some were for pulling it down. G. Fox hearing the noise, whilst he was preaching, grew very zealous, and with a mighty power was made to say, ‘ Woe, woe unto the rulers and teachers of this nation, who suffer such ungodliness as this, and do not seek to suppress it.’ Some that heard him thus speaking, went and told the magistrates of it, perhaps not in the self-same words as were uttered by him. The officers then coming, the mayor commanded the constables to take the said G. Fox into custody ; who hearing this, said, ‘ If I have done any thing worthy of death, or bonds, I shall not refuse either ; but I desire thee to show me what law I have transgressed ; which thou oughtest to do, before thou sendest me to prison, that I may know for what I am sent thither.’ But the mayor told him, he should know that afterward ; and so he was carried to prison. Robert Grassingham, who was shipwright of the admiralty in that port, being at the meeting, out of which G. Fox was haled, in love went freely along with him to prison. This seemed to please the mayor, who some days before had been heard to say concerning Grassingham, ‘ If I could but get him out of the town, I should know what course to take with the other Quakers.’ Some time after G. Fox was imprisoned, a mittimus was sent to the gaoler, in which the prisoner was charged with causing a tumult in that borough, and disturbing the peace thereof. This mittimus was signed by Miles Hubbard, mayor, Anthony Woolward, and Daniel Smith ; and these magistrates

sent notice of what they had done to the parliament, under a specious pretence, that so they might not fall into disgrace. The parliament receiving this information, issued forth the following order :

‘ Monday, May 21, 1660.

‘ The house being informed, that two Quakers, that is to say, George Fox and Robert Grassingham, have lately made a disturbance at Harwich, and that the said George Fox, who pretends to be a preacher, did lately in his preaching there, speak words much reflecting on the government and ministry, to the near causing of a mutiny, and is now committed by the mayor and the magistrates there ;

‘ Ordered, that the said George Fox and Robert Grassingham be forthwith brought up in custody ; and that the sheriff of the county of Essex do receive them, and give them his assistance for the conveying them up accordingly, and delivering them into the charge of the serjeant-at-arms attending this house.

‘ Ordered, that the thanks of this house be given to the mayor and magistrates of Harwich for their care in this business.

‘ William Jessop,

‘ Clerk of the Commons House of parliament.’

By this it appeared that the magistrates of Harwich had special friends in the parliament. R. Grassingham being at liberty, was gone to London ; and when this order came to Harwich, G. Fox was delivered to the sheriff of Essex and his men : these went with him to London, and upon the road they met Grassingham, who was coming from London to Harwich, in pursuance of an order which he had received from the commissioner of the admiralty and navy, for refitting one of the king's frigates. But notwithstanding Grassingham showed his order to the sheriff, yet he brought him back to London with Fox, and delivered them into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms attending the house, who committed them to Lambeth-house. They having been there about three weeks, wrote a letter to the House of Commons, wherein they gave some account of the manner of their imprisonment, and desired, that they with their accusers might be brought face to face before the parliament, saying, that if any thing could be proved against them, worthy of punishment, they should not refuse it. But they thought it to be unjust and unreasonable, that a man should be haled out of a peaceable meeting, and sent to prison, without being examined, only for declaring against the cursing and the wickedness of the rude people, and against such as suffered such ungodliness, and did not seek to suppress it.

This was the chief contents of their paper, which they en-

closed in a letter to the speaker of the House of Commons in these words :

For the Speaker of the House of Commons.

‘ Friend,

‘ We desire thee to communicate this enclosed to the House of Commons, it being a few innocent, just, and reasonable words to them, though not in the eloquent language of man’s wisdom, yet it is in the truth which is honourable.

We are friends to righteousness and truth,
and to all that are found therein.

‘ Robert Grassingham,
‘ George Fox.’

But the speaker did not deliver the paper, under pretence that it was not directed with the ordinary title, ‘ To the right honourable the House of Commons.’ Therefore by the help of their friends they got it printed, that so each member of parliament might have a copy of it. Now after they had lain about fourteen weeks in Lambeth gate-house without being examined, one of the members of parliament moved this business in the house ; whereupon the following order was made :

Thursday, October 30, 1660.

‘ Ordered that George Fox and Robert Grassingham, who by virtue of a former order of this house, were taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms attending this house, for some disturbance at Harwich, be forthwith released, and set at liberty, upon bail first given to render themselves, when they shall be in that behalf required.

‘ William Jessop,
‘ Clerk of the House of Commons.’

Shortly after this order was issued forth, the serjeant-at-arms sent his clerk to demand fees and chamber-rent of the prisoners, asking fifty pounds for fees, and ten shillings a week for chamber-rent. But since no evil was laid to their charge, they could not resolve to satisfy this unreasonable demand, yet offered to pay two shillings and sixpence a week, though the chamber where they had lain was the highest room in a lofty tower, and all the windows open, until they had gotten them glazed, without any charge to the serjeant. Matters standing thus, their cause was referred to the king’s privy council. But it lasted yet a good while before they were released ; for several evasions were made use of to keep them in custody.

Whilst G. Fox was prisoner, he wrote a little book, which he called, 'A noble Salutation to King Charles Stuart,' wherein he showed him how matters had gone in England, viz. That his father's party scorned those that appeared in arms against them because of their meanness; for they were tradesmen, ploughmen, servants, and the like; which contemptible instruments God made use of to bring down the loftiness of the others. But those of the parliament party growing from time to time successful, and prevailing, got into the possessions of those they conquered, and fell into the same pride and oppression which they had cried out against in others; and many of them became greater oppressors and persecutors than the former had been. Moreover, the author exhorted the king to observe the hand of the Lord in the restoring of him. 'Therefore,' said he, 'Let no man deceive thee, by persuading thee that these things are thus brought to pass, because the kingdom was thy own proper right, and because it was withheld from thee contrary to all right; or because that those called royalists are much more righteous than those who are now fallen under thee. For I plainly declare unto thee, that this kingdom, and all the kingdoms of the earth, are properly the Lord's. And this know, that it was the just hand of God, in taking away the kingdom from thy father and thee, and giving it unto others; and that also it is the just hand of the Lord to take it again from them, and bring them under thee: though I shall not say, but that some of them went beyond their commission against thy father, when they were brought as a rod over you; and well will it be for thee if thou becomest not guilty of the same transgressions.'

The author further exhorts the king to consider, this his station was not without danger, because of the changeableness of the people, a great part of whom were perfidious; since one while they had sworn for a king and parliament; and shortly after they swore against a king, single person, or house of lords; and afterwards again they swore for a single person. Some time after they cried up a parliament again. And when O. Cromwell had turned out the parliament, and set up himself, then the priests prayed for him, and asserted his authority to be just; and when he died they fawned upon his son Richard, and blasphemously termed his father the light of their eyes, and the breath of their nostrils; and they told him, that God had left him to carry on that glorious work which his father had begun. Nay, some priests compared Oliver to Moses, and Richard to Joshua, who should carry them into the promised land. Thus they continually would flatter those that were at the helm. For when George Booth made a rising, and they thought there would be a turn, then some of the priests cried out against the parliament, and cursed such as would not go out against them. But when Booth

was taken, then many began to petition the parliament, and to excuse themselves, that they had no hand in that rising.

Next the author set forth the wickedness of the people by excessive drinking and drunkenness, thereby as it were to show their loyalty to the king; and he relates also, how having preached at Harwich against the grievous wickedness of the people, he was haled to prison in the king's name. Finally, he exhorts the king, to take heed of seeking revenge; and to show mercy.

This paper, which was not a small one, for it took up several sheets, was delivered in writing by Richard Hubberthorn, into the king's hand at Whitehall, and was not long after by the author given forth in print.

Now one of the most eminent royalists drew up divers queries to the Quakers, desiring them to answer them, and to direct their answer with this superscription, '*Tradite hanc amico Regis,*' that is, 'Deliver this to the king's friend.' For it was clearly seen, that several of their predictions came to be fulfilled, of which those of Edward Burrough were not the least. And, therefore, some (as it seems) thought that by the Quakers they might get some knowledge whether any stability of the king's government was to be expected. By the queries it appeared, that the author of them was a man of understanding, and of some moderation also: and though I do not know who he was, yet I am not without thoughts that Edward earl of Clarendon, and high chancellor, may have been the penman thereof. The tendency of these queries chiefly was to know from the Quakers, what their judgment was concerning the king's right to the crown; and whether they ever did foresee his return; and also whether they could judge that his reign and government should be blessed or not. Moreover, whether he might justly forgive or avenge himself; and whether he might allow liberty of conscience to all sorts of people, &c. Edward Burrough answered these queries, and published his answer in print. It was directed to the king and the royalists. In it he showed, that in some of their writings it had been signified, that they had some expectations of the king's restoration. That the king's coming to the throne was reasonable and equitable, because through the purpose of the Lord. That his reign and government might be blessed, or not blessed, according to his carriage. And that he might justly forgive his, and his father's enemies; for though he and his father might have been injured, yet, forasmuch as they had applied to the sword to determine their controversy with the nation, the sword went against them; and by that whereby they thought to stand, they did fall; and who then should they blame for that which befel them, seeing the sword, which they themselves did choose, destroyed them. However, the author signified, that this was not meant of the king's death; that

being quite another case. And if such, who had destroyed kingly government in name and title, and pretended to govern better, and did not make reformation, but became oppressors, having broke their promises, came to be punished on that account with death, or otherwise, such could not be said to suffer for a good conscience, nor for righteousness' sake; but it was because they were oppressors; and suffering for that cause could not be called persecution. 'But none of us (thus ran Edward Burrough's words) can suffer for that cause, as not being guilty thereof. If we suffer in your government, it is for the name of Christ; because nothing can be charged against us in this capacity as we now stand, and in this state into which we are now gathered and changed, not in any matter of action or rebellion against the king nor his father; nor in any thing but concerning the law and worship of our God, and the matters of his kingdom, and our pure consciences. And if any that are now amongst us were any way engaged in the parliament service in the wars, it was not in rebellion against the king or his father, as that we sought their destruction as men; but upon sober and reasonable principles, and not for corrupt ends, nor to get honour and riches to ourselves, as some others might do, who went into the war for self-ends, and continued in action, after the cause which was once engaged for was utterly lost. And that principle, which sometime led some into action to oppose oppression, and seek after reformation, that principle is still justified, though we are now better informed than once we were. For though we do now more than ever oppose oppression, and seek after reformation, yet we do it not in that way of outward warring and fighting with carnal weapons and swords; and you ought to put a difference between such as some time acted in the wars against you, in and upon sober and reasonable principles, and that did not make themselves rich and high in the world, through your sufferings, and between such as have acted against you for self-ends, and have insulted over you, and have made themselves great and rich in this world through your afflictions and sufferings.' To the query, whether the great afflictions sustained by the king divers years, from subjects of his own nation, and the guilt thereof, did lie upon all the subjects in general; or, whether upon any, or some particular sorts of people, who were such more than others; E. Burrough made this answer, 'So far as his sufferings were unjust, the guilt thereof doth not lie upon all the subjects in general, but upon some more than others; and such are easy to be distinguished from others, if it be considered who they are that raised the war in this nation against the king, and who first preached and prayed up the war, and prosecuted it against the king's father, and who cast out the bishops and prelates from their places, and took their revenues and benefices, and are become men as corrupted, as covetous and self-seeking, as proud

and ambitious, as unjust persecutors, as ever the men were which they cast out: and who is it that hath gotten great estates in the nation, and worldly honour, and raised themselves from nothing by the wars, and by your sufferings; and who got the estates and titles of their enemies, and pretended to free them from all oppressions, but have not done it; but have continued the old oppressions, and have been striving among themselves who should rule, and who should be great? And as for us, who are called Quakers, we are clear from the guilt of all the king's sufferings. We have not cast out others, and taken their places of great benefices, neither have we made war with carnal weapons against any, never since we were a people. Neither have we broken oaths and engagements, nor promised freedom and deliverance, and for self-ends and earthly riches betrayed, as others have done. And in many particulars it doth appear that we are clear from his sufferings, for we have been a suffering people as well as they, by the same spirit which caused them to suffer, which hath been much more cruel, wicked, and unjust towards us, than it hath been towards them, though our persecution hath been in another manner. But what they have done against us we can freely forgive them, and would have you to follow the same example. And if you could accuse them in many things, so could we: but this is not a time to accuse one another, but to forgive one another, and so to overcome your enemies. When they had gotten the victory, they did not reform, but became oppressors, as well as others, and became cruel towards others, that would not say and do as they: and for this cause the Lord hath brought them down, and may justly suffer others to deal with them as they have dealt with others. Yet notwithstanding I must still say, and it is my judgment, that there was very great oppression and vexation under the government of the late king, and bishops under his power, which the Lord was offended with, and many good people oppressed by; for which cause the Lord might and did justly raise up some to oppose, and strive against oppressions and injustice, and to press after reformation in all things. And that principle of sincerity, which in some things carried them on in opposing oppressions and pressing after reformation, I can never deny, but acknowledge it; though many have lost it, and became self-seekers, forgetting the cause pretended to, &c.

This is but a small part of the queries, and the answers thereunto, which E. Burrough concluded with a bold exhortation to the king, to fear and reverence the Lord.

Now we return again to G. Fox the elder, whom we left about Bristol; from whence he passed to Gloucester, Worcester, Drayton, (the place of his nativity,) and Yorkshire. In that country

at that time a yearly meeting was kept at Balby, in an orchard, where some thousands of people were met together. At York, about thirty miles off, notice being given of this meeting, a troop of horse came from thence ; and when G. Fox stood preaching in the meeting on a stool, two trumpeters came riding up, sounding their trumpets pretty near him : and then the captain bid him come down, for he was come (he said) to disperse the meeting. G. Fox then speaking, told him, he knew they were peaceable people ; but if he did question that they were met in an hostile manner, he might make search among them ; and if he found either sword or pistol about any there, such might suffer. But the captain told G. Fox he must see them dispersed, for he came all night on purpose to disperse them. G. Fox asked him, what honour it would be to him to ride with swords and pistols among so many unarmed men and women ? But if he would be still and quiet, the meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours ; and when it was done, as they came peaceably, so they should part : for he might perceive, the meeting was so large, that all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night. But the captain said, he could not stay so long. G. Fox desired then, that if he himself could not stay to see the meeting ended, he would let a dozen of his soldiers stay. To this the captain said, he would permit them an hour's time ; so he left six soldiers to stay there, and then went away with his troop : he being gone, the soldiers that were left, told those that were met together, they might stay till night, if they would. This they were not for, but parted about three hours after, without any disturbance. But if the soldiers had been of such a temper as their captain, perhaps the meeting would not have ended thus quietly : for he was a desperate man, having once told G. Fox in Scotland, that he would obey his superiors' command ; and if it were to crucify Christ, he would do it ; or execute the great Turk's commands against the Christians, if he were under him.

Now G. Fox went to Skipton, where there was a general meeting concerning the affairs of the church. For many of his friends suffered much, and their goods being taken from them, and some brought to poverty, there was a necessity to provide for them. This meeting had stood several years ; for when the justices and captains came to break them up, and saw the books and accounts of collections for the relief of the poor, and how care was taken that one county should help another, and provide for the poor, they commended such practice, and passed away in love. Sometimes there would come two hundred poor people, belonging to other societies, and wait there till the meeting was done : and then the Friends would send to the baker's for bread, and give every one of these poor people a loaf, how many soever there were : for

they were taught to do good unto all, though especially to the household of faith.

From hence G. Fox went to Lancaster, and so to Swarthmore, where he was apprehended at the house of Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, judge Thomas Fell, her husband, having been deceased about two years before. Now some imagined they had done a remarkable act; for one said, he did not think a thousand men could have taken G. Fox. They led him away to Ulverstone, where he was kept all night at the constable's house, and a guard of fifteen or sixteen men were set to watch him; some of which sate in the chimney, for fear he should go up the funnel. Next morning he was carried to Lancaster, but exceedingly abused by the way; and being come to town, was brought to the house of a justice, whose name was Henry Porter, and who had granted the warrant against him. He asked Porter, for what, and by whose order, he had sent forth his warrant; and he complained to him of the abuse of the constables and other officers: for they had set him upon a horse behind the saddle, so that he had nothing to hold by; and maliciously beating the horse, made him kick and gallop, and throw off his rider. But Porter would not take any notice of that, and told G. Fox, he had an order, but would not let him see it, for he would not reveal the king's secrets. After many words were exchanged, he was carried to Lancaster prison. Being there a close prisoner in the common gaol, he desired two of his friends, one of which was Thomas Green, the other Thomas Commings, a minister of the gospel (with whom he was very familiarly acquainted), to go to the gaoler, and desire of him a copy of his mittimus. They went, but the gaoler told them he could not give a copy of it; yet he gave it them to read; and to the best of their remembrance, the matters therein charged against him were, that G. Fox was a person generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect: and that he, together with others of his fanatic opinion, had of late endeavoured to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. Wherefore the gaoler was commanded to keep him in safe custody, till he should be released by order from the king and parliament. No wonder that the gaoler would not give a copy of his mittimus, for it contained almost as many untruths as words. G. Fox then wrote an apology, wherein he answered at large to all those false accusations. And Margaret Fell, considering what injury was offered to her, by haling G. Fox out of her house, wrote the following information, and sent it abroad.

To all magistrates, concerning the wrong taking up, and imprisoning of George Fox at Lancaster.

‘ I do inform the governors of this nation, that Henry Porter,

mayor of Lancaster, sent a warrant with four constables to my house, for which he had no authority nor order. They searched my house, and apprehended George Fox in it, who was not guilty of the breach of any law, or of any offence against any in the nation. After they had taken him, and brought him before the said Henry Porter, there was bail offered, what he would demand for his appearance, to answer what could be laid to his charge: but he (contrary to law, if he had taken him lawfully,) denied to accept of any bail; and clapped him up in close prison. After he was in prison, a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be denied to any prisoner, that so he may see what is laid to his charge: but it was denied him; a copy he could not have; only they were suffered to read it over. And every thing that was there charged against him, was utterly false; he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as will be proved, and manifested to the nation. So, let the governors consider of it. I am concerned in this thing, inasmuch as he was apprehended in my house; and if he be guilty, I am so too. So I desire to have this searched out.

‘Margaret Fell.’

After this, Margaret determined to go to London, to speak with the king about this matter: which Porter having heard of, said he would go too; and so he did. But because he had been a zealous man for the parliament against the king, several of the courtiers put him in mind of his plundering of their houses. And this so troubled him, that he quickly left the court, and returned home, and then spoke to the gaoler about contriving a way to release G. Fox. But in his mittimus he had overshot himself, by ordering G. Fox to be kept prisoner, till he should be delivered by the king or parliament. G. Fox also sent him a letter, and put him in mind, how fierce he had been against the king and his party, though now he would be thought zealous for the king. And among other passages, he called to his remembrance, how, when he held Lancaster castle for the parliament against the king, he was so rough and fierce against those that favoured the king, that he said, he would leave them neither dog nor cat, if they did not bring him in provision to his castle.

One Anne Curtis coming to see G. Fox, and understanding how he stood committed, resolved also to go to the king about it; for her father, who had been sheriff of Bristol, was hanged near his own door, for endeavouring to bring in the king: upon which consideration, she was in hopes to be admitted to the king's presence to speak with him. Coming to London, she and Margaret Fell went together to the king, who, when he understood whose daughter Anne was, received her kindly. She having acquainted the king with the case of G. Fox, desired, that he would be pleased

to send for him up, and hear the cause himself. This the king promised her he would do, and commanded his secretary to send down an order for the bringing up G. Fox. But it was long before this order was executed, for many evasions were sought, as well by carping at a word, as by other craft; whereby the sending up of G. Fox was retarded above two months. He thus continuing prisoner, wrote several papers, and among the rest also this.

To the King.

‘ King Charles,

‘ Thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war; but by the power of the Lord: now if thou dost not live in it, thou wilt not prosper. And if the Lord hath showed thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgive, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee: and if thou do not stop persecution, and persecutors, and take away all laws that do hold up persecution about religion; but if thou do persist in them, and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as them that have gone before thee: for persecution hath always blinded those that have gone into it; and such God by his power overthrows, and doth his valiant acts upon; and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. And if thou dost bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, may-games, (with fiddlers, drums, trumpets, to play at them,) with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged, or go unpunished; as setting up of maypoles, with the image of the crown a-top of them, &c. the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he overthrew them; and so he will you, if these things be not suddenly prevented. Hardly was there so much wickedness at liberty before now, as there is at this day; as though there was no terror, nor sword of magistracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praise to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace; and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. So hear, and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power; and be merciful, and forgive, that is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Christ.

‘ G. F.’

The sheriff of Lancaster still refused to remove G. Fox, unless he would become bound, and pay for the sealing of the writing, and the charge of carrying him up. But this he would not. Then they consulting how to convey him, it was at first proposed to send a party of horse with him. But he told them, if he were such a man as they had represented him to be, they had need to send a troop or two of horse to guard him. But considering that

this would be a great charge to them, they concluded to send him up guarded only by the gaoler, and some bailiffs. On further consideration, they found that this also would be very chargeable, and thereupon told him, if he would put in bail that he would be in London such a day of the term, he should have leave to go up with some of his own friends. G. Fox told them, he would neither put in any bail, nor give any money: but if they would let him go up with one or two of his friends, he would go up, and be in London such a day, if the Lord did permit. So at last when they saw they could not make him bow, the sheriff consented that he should go up with some of his friends, without any other engagement than his word, to appear before the judges at London such a day of the term, if the Lord did permit. Whereupon they let him go out of prison, and after some stay, he went with Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers to London, whither he came on a day that some of the judges of king Charles I. were hanged and quartered at Charing Cross: for now what E. Burrough and others had plainly foretold, was fulfilling on them.

The next morning G. Fox, and those with him, went to judge Thomas Mallet's chamber, who then was putting on his red gown, to sit upon some more of the king's judges, and therefore told him, he might come another time. G. Fox did so, being accompanied by — Marsh, esq. one of the king's bed-chamber. When he came to the judge's chamber, he found there also the lord chief justice Foster, and delivered to them the charge that was against him: but when they read those words, that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in blood, &c. they struck their hands on the table: whereupon G. Fox told them, that he was the man whom that charge was against; but that he was as innocent of any such thing as a new-born child; that he brought it up himself, and that some of his friends came up with him, without any guard. As yet the judges had not minded G. Fox's hat, but now seeing his hat on, they said, why did he stand with his hat on? He told them he did not stand in any contempt to them. Then they commanded one to take it off; and having called for the marshal of the King's Bench, they said to him, 'You must take this man and secure him, but you must let him have a chamber, and not put him amongst the prisoners.' But the marshal said his house was so full that he could not tell where to provide a room for him, but amongst the prisoners. Judge Foster then said to G. Fox, 'Will you appear to-morrow about ten of the clock, at the King's Bench bar in Westminster Hall?' 'Yes, said he, if the Lord give me strength.' Hereupon the said judge said to the other judge, 'If he say yes, and promises it, you may take his word.'

So he was dismissed for that time, and the next day appeared at the King's Bench bar at the hour appointed, being accompanied by Richard Hubberthorn, Robert Withers, and esquire Marsh, before-named. And being brought into the middle of the court, he looked about, and turning to the people, said, 'Peace be among you.' Then the charge against him was read, and coming to that part which said, that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in blood, and raising a new war, and that he was an enemy to the king, &c. those of the bench lifted up their hands. He then stretching out his arms, said, 'I am the man whom that charge is against; but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war postures. Do you think, that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myself against myself? Or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? For had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to have been guarded up with a troop or two of horse: but the sheriff and magistrates of Lancashire had thought fit to let me and my friends come up by ourselves, almost two hundred miles, without any guard at all, which we may be sure they would not have done, if they had looked upon me to be such a man.' Then the judge asked him, whether it should be filed, or what he would do with it? And he answered, 'Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter: therefore do with it what ye will.' The judges said, they did not accuse him, for they had nothing against him. Whereupon esquire Marsh stood up and told the judges, it was the king's pleasure, that G. Fox should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came against him. Then they asked him, whether he would put it to the king and council? He answered, 'Yes, with a good will.' Thereupon they sent the sheriff's return, which he made to the writ of *habeas corpus*, to the king, and the return was thus:

'By virtue of his Majesty's writ to me directed, and hereunto annexed, I certify, that before the receipt of the said writ, George Fox, in the said writ mentioned was committed to his Majesty's gaol, at the castle of Lancaster, in my custody, by a warrant from Henry Porter, esq. one of his Majesty's justices of the peace within the county palatine aforesaid, bearing date the 5th of June now last past; for that he, the said George Fox, was generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of this nation, an enemy to our sovereign lord the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that he, together with others of his fanatic opinion, have of late endeavoured to make insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. And this is the cause of his taking and detaining. Nevertheless,

the body of the said George Fox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, knight, one of his Majesty's justices, assigned to hold pleas, before his said Majesty, at his chamber in Serjeant's Inn, in Fleet Street, to do and receive those things which his Majesty's said justice shall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the aforesaid writ is required.

‘ George Chetham, esq, sheriff.’

The king upon perusal of this, and consideration of the whole matter, being satisfied of G. Fox's innocency, commanded his secretary to send the following order to judge Mallet for his release :

‘ It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you give order for the releasing, and setting at full liberty, the person of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster gaol, and commanded hither by an *habeas corpus*. And this signification of his Majesty's pleasure shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1660.

‘ Edward Nicholas.’

‘ For sir Thomas Mallet, knight, one of the justices of the King's Bench.’

When this order was delivered to judge Mallet, he forthwith sent his warrant to the marshal of the King's Bench, for G. Fox's release ; which warrant was thus :

‘ By virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the right honourable sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his majesty's principal secretaries, for the releasing and setting at liberty of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster gaol, and from thence brought hither by *habeas corpus*, and yesterday committed unto your custody ; I do hereby require you accordingly to release and set the said prisoner, George Fox, at liberty : for which this shall be your warrant and discharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1660.

‘ Thomas Mallet.’

‘ To sir John Lenthal, knight, marshal of the King's Bench, or his deputy.’

G. Fox having been prisoner now above twenty weeks, was thus very honourably set at liberty by the king's command. After it was known he was discharged, several that were envious and wicked, were troubled, and terror seized on justice Porter ; for he was afraid G. Fox would take the advantage of the law

against him for his wrong imprisonment, and thereby undo him : and indeed G. Fox was put on by some in authority, to have made him and the rest examples. But he said, he should leave them to the Lord ; if the Lord did forgive them, he should not trouble himself with them.

About this time, Richard Hubberthorn got an opportunity to speak with the king, and to have a long discourse with him, which soon after he published in print. Being admitted into the king's presence, he gave him a relation of the state of his friends, and said,

‘ Since the Lord hath called us, and gathered us to be a people, to walk in his fear, and in his truth, we have always suffered and been persecuted by the powers that have ruled, and been made a prey of, for departing from iniquity ; and when the breach of no just law could be charged against us, then they made laws on purpose to ensnare us ; and so our sufferings were unjustly continued.’

The King. It is true, those that have ruled over you, have been cruel, and have professed much which they have not done.

R. H. And likewise the same sufferings do now abound in more cruelty against us in many parts of this nation : as for instance, one at Thetford in Norfolk, where Henry Fell (ministering unto the people) was taken out of the meeting and whipped, and sent out of the town, from parish to parish, towards Lancashire ; and the chief ground of his accusation in his pass (which was shown to the king) was, because he denied to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy ; and so because that for conscience-sake we cannot swear, but have learned obedience to the doctrine of Christ, which saith, “ Swear not all ;” hereby an occasion is taken against us to persecute us ; and it is well known that we have not sworn for any, nor against any, but have kept to the truth, and our yea hath been yea, and our nay, nay, in all things, which is more than the oath of those that are out of the truth.

King. But why can you not swear ? for an oath is a common thing amongst men to any engagement.

R. H. Yes, it is manifest, and we have seen it by experience ; and it is so common amongst men to swear, and engage either for or against things, that there is no regard taken to them, nor fear of an oath ; that therefore which we speak of in the truth of our hearts, is more than what they swear.

King. But can you not promise as before the Lord, which is the substance of the oath ?

R. H. Yes, what we do affirm, we can promise before the

Lord, and take him to our witness in it ; but our so promising hath not been accepted, but the ceremony of an oath they have stood for, without which all other things were accounted of no effect.

King. But how may we know from your words that you will perform ?

R. H. By proving of us ; for they that swear are not known to be faithful, but by proving of them ; and so we by those that have tried us, are found to be truer in our promises, than others by their oaths ; and to those that do yet prove us, we shall appear the same.

King. Pray what is your principle ?

R. H. Our principle is this, "That Jesus Christ is the true light which enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe ;" and that they were to obey and follow this light as they have received it, whereby they might be led unto God, and unto righteousness, and the knowledge of the truth, that they might be saved.

King. This do all Christians confess to be truth ; and he is not a Christian that will deny it.

R. H. But many have denied it both in words and writings, and opposed us in it : and above an hundred books are put forth in opposition unto this principle.

Then some of the lords standing by the king, said, that none would deny that every one is enlightened.

And one of the lords asked, how long we had been called Quakers, or did we own that name ?

R. H. That name was given to us in scorn and derision, about twelve years since ; but there were some that lived in this truth before we had that name given unto us.

King. How long is it since you owned this judgment and way ?

R. H. It is near twelve years since I owned this truth, according to the manifestation of it.

King. Do you own the sacrament ?

R. H. As for the word sacrament, I do not read of it in the Scripture ; but as for the body and blood of Christ I own, and that there is no remission without blood.

King. Well that is it ; but do you not believe that every one is commanded to receive it ?

R. H. This we do believe, that according as it is written in the Scripture, that Christ at his last supper took bread and brake it, and gave to his disciples, and also took the cup and blessed it, and said unto them, "And as often as ye do this, (that is as often as they brake bread) you show forth the Lord's death till he come ;" and this we believe they did ; "and they did eat their bread in singleness of heart from house to house ;"

and Christ did come again to them according to his promise ; after which they said, “ We being many are one bread, for we are all partakers of this one bread.”

King's friend. Then one of the king's friends said, it is true ; for as many grains make one bread, so they being many members, were one body.

Another of them said, if they be bread, then they must be broken.

R. H. There is a difference between that bread which he brake at his last supper, wherein they were to show forth, as in a sign, his death until he came ; and this whereof they spake, they being many, are one bread ; for herein they were come more into the substance, and to speak more mystically, as they knew it in the Spirit.

King's friends. Then they said, it is true, and he had spoken nothing but truth.

King. How know you that you are inspired by the Lord ?

R. H. According as we read in the Scriptures, that “ The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding ;” so by his inspiration is an understanding given us of the things of God.

Then one of the lords said, How do you know that you are led by the true Spirit ?

R. H. This we know, because the Spirit of truth reproves the world of sin, and by it we were reprov'd of sin, and also are led from sin unto righteousness, and obedience of truth, by which effects we know it is the true Spirit ; for the spirit of the wicked one doth not lead into such things.

Then the king and his lords said, it was truth.

King. Well, of this you may be assured, that you shall none of you suffer for your opinions or religion, so long as you live peaceably, and you have the word of a king for it ; and I have also given forth a declaration to the same purpose, that none shall wrong you or abuse you.

King. How do you own magistrates, or magistracy ?

R. H. Thus we do own magistrates : whosoever is set up by God, whether king is supreme, or any set in authority by him, who are for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well, such we shall submit unto, and assist in righteous and civil things, both by body and estate : and if any magistrates do that which is unrighteous, we must declare against it ; only submit under it by a patient suffering, and not rebel against any by insurrections, plots, and contrivances.

King. That is enough.

Then one of the lords asked, Why do you meet together, seeing every one of you have the church in yourselves ?

R. H. According as it is written in the Scriptures, the church is in God, Thes. i. 1. “ And they that feared the Lord, did

meet often together in the fear of the Lord," and to us it is profitable, and herein we are edified and strengthened in the life of truth.

King. How did you first come to believe the Scriptures were truth?

R. H. I have believed the Scriptures from a child to be a declaration of truth, when I had but a literal knowledge, natural education and tradition; but now I know the Scriptures to be true, by the manifestation and operation of the Spirit of God fulfilling them in me.

King. In what manner do you meet, and what is the order in your meetings?

R. H. We do meet in the same order as the people of God did, waiting upon him: and if any have a word of exhortation from the Lord, he may speak it; or if any have a word of reproof or admonition, and as every one hath received the gift, so they may minister one unto another, and may be edified one by another; whereby a growth into the knowledge of the truth is administered to one another.

One of the lords. Then you know not so much as you may know, but there is a growth then to be admitted of.

R. H. Yes, we do grow daily into the knowledge of the truth, in our exercise and obedience to it.

King. Are any of your friends gone to Rome?

R. H. Yes, there is one in prison in Rome.

King. Why did you send him thither?

R. H. We did not send him thither, but he found something upon his spirit from the Lord, whereby he was called to go to declare against superstition and idolatry, which is contrary to the will of God.

King's friend said, There were two of them at Rome, but one was dead.

King. Have any of your friends been with the great Turk?

R. H. Some of our friends have been in that country.

Other things were spoken concerning the liberty of the servants of the Lord, who were called of him into his service, that to them there was no limitation to parishes or places, but as the Lord did guide them in his work and service by his Spirit.

So the king promised that we should not any ways suffer for our opinion or religion, and so in love passed away.

The king having promised Richard Hubberthorn over and again, that his friends should not suffer for their opinion, or religion, they parted in love. But though the king seemed a good-natured prince, yet he was so misled, that in process of

time he seemed to have forgot what he so solemnly promised on the word of a king.

Now in this discourse mention being made of Rome, &c. I will say by the bye, that one John Perrot and John Love being come to Leghorn in Italy, and having been examined there by the inquisition, they answered so well that they were dismissed. Being come afterwards to Venice, Perrot was admitted to the doge, or duke, in his palace, spoke with him, and gave him some books: and from thence he went with his fellow-traveller to Rome. Here they bore testimony against the idolatry committed there, in such a public manner, that they were taken into custody. John Love died in the prison of the inquisition; and though it was divulged, that he had fasted to death, yet some nuns have told that he was dispatched in the night, for fear he should annoy the church of Rome. However it was, he died in sincerity of heart, and so was more happy than Perrot, who though then perhaps he was in a pretty good frame of mind, yet afterwards turned an eminent apostate, having continued prisoner at Rome, a great while, and at length got his liberty. He was a man of great natural parts, but, not continuing in true humility, ran out into exorbitant imaginations, of which more may be said hereafter. About this time Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs were also at Rome, where they spoke with some of the cardinals, and testified against the popish superstition. They also spread some books amongst the friars, some of whom confessed the contents thereof to be truth: but, said they, if we should acknowledge this publicly, we might expect to be burnt for it. Notwithstanding Fisher and Stubbs went free, and returned unmolested.

The case of Mary Fisher, a maiden, and one of the first Quakers (so called) that came into New England (as hath been mentioned before) I cannot pass by in silence. She being come to Smyrna, to go from thence to Adrianople, was stopped by the English consul, and sent back to Venice, from whence she came by another way to Adrianople, at the time that Sultan Mahomet the fourth was encamped with his army near the said town. She went alone to the camp, and got somebody to go to the tent of the grand vizier, to tell him that an English woman was come who had something to declare from the great God to the sultan. The vizier sent word, that next morning he should procure her an opportunity for that purpose. Then she returned to the town, and repaired next morning to the camp again, where, being come, she was brought before the sultan, who had his great men about him, in such a manner as he was used to admit ambassadors. He asked by his interpreters (whereof there were three with him) whether it was true what had been told him, that she had something to say to him from the Lord God? She answered,

‘Yea.’ Then he bade her speak on: and she not being forward, weightily pondering what she might say, and he supposing that she might be fearful to utter her mind before them all, asked her whether she desired that any might go aside, before she spoke? She answered, ‘No.’ He then bade her speak the word of the Lord to them, and not to fear, for they had good hearts, and could hear it. He also charged her, to speak the word she had to say from the Lord, neither more nor less, for they were willing to hear it, be it what it would. Then she spoke what was upon her mind.

The Turks hearkened to her with much attention and gravity, till she had done; and then the sultan asking her whether she had any thing more to say? She asked him, whether he understood what she said? And he answered, ‘Yes, every word,’ and further said, that what she had spoken was truth. Then he desired her to stay in that country, saying, that they could not but respect such a one, as should take so much pains to come to them so far as from England, with a message from the Lord God. He also proffered her a guard to bring her into Constantinople, whither she intended. But she not accepting this offer, he told her it was dangerous travelling, especially for such a one as she; and wondered that she had passed so safe so far as she had: saying also, it was in respect to her, and in kindness that he proffered it, and that he would not for any thing she should come to the least hurt in his dominions. She having no more to say, the Turks asked her, what she thought of their prophet Mahomet? She answered warily, that she knew him not; but Christ, the true prophet, the Son of God, who was the light of the world, and enlightened every man coming into the world, him she knew. And concerning Mahomet she said, that they might judge of him to be true or false, according to the words and prophecies he spoke; saying further, ‘If the word that a prophet speaketh, come to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord hath sent that prophet; but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord never sent him.’ The Turks confessed this to be true; and Mary having performed her message, departed from the camp to Constantinople, without a guard, whither she came without the least hurt or scoff. And so she returned safe to England.

Concerning Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, two women, who at this time lay in the prison of the inquisition at Malta, and were not released till after three years’ confinement, where they suffered most grievous hardships; I intend to speak hereafter, when I am come to the time of their deliverance; and then I propose to make a large and very remarkable description concerning it.

In the meanwhile I return to the affairs of England, where

the government now was quite altered. Many of the late king's judges were now hanged and quartered: among those was also colonel Francis Hacker, of whom about six years before this time it hath been said that he took George Fox prisoner. But he now himself was in prison, and impeached not only as one of those that kept the king prisoner, but also that he signed the warrant for the king's execution, and had conducted him to the scaffold. To all which, and more, he said little, but that what he did, was by order of his superiors; and that he had endeavoured to serve his country. But this did not avail him, for he was condemned for high treason, and hanged and quartered in October. A day or two before his death, Margaret Fell visited him in prison; and when he was put in mind of what formerly he had done against the innocent, he remembered it, and said, he knew well whom she meant, and had trouble upon him for it. For G. Fox (who had compared him to Pilate) bade him, when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, to remember what he said to him. And as Hacker's son-in-law, Needham, then did not stick to say, that it was time to have G. Fox cut off: so it came to be the lot of Hacker himself to be cut off at Tyburn, where he was hanged. Such now was the end of many, who were not only guilty of the king's death, and the putting to death of others who were for king Charles II. but had also transgressed against God by persecuting godly people. They had been often warned, and several times told that God would hear the cries of the widows and fatherless, that had been cruelly oppressed by them; and as they had made spoil of the goods of those whom in scorn they called Quakers, so now fear and quaking was brought upon them, and their estates became a spoil to others. How plainly E. Burrough had foretold this, hath been said before; and not to mention others, I will only say, that one Robert Huntington came once into the steeple-house at Brough, near Carlisle, with a white sheet about him, and a halter about his neck, to show the Presbyterians and Independents there, that the surplice was to be introduced again, and that some of them should not escape the halter. Now how mad soever this was said to be, yet time showed it a presage of the impending disaster of the cruel persecutors: for when king Charles had ascended the throne, his most fierce enemies were dispatched out of the way.

The parliament sitting at this time, some of those called Quakers were admitted to appear in the house of Lords, where they gave reasons why they could not frequent the public worship, nor swear, nor pay tithes; and they were heard with moderation. The king also about this time showed himself moderate; for being solicited by some, and more especially by Margaret Fell, he set at liberty about seven hundred of the people called

Quakers, who had been imprisoned under the government of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. This passed the easier, because those that were now at the helm, had also suffered under the former government: there seemed likewise some inclination to give liberty of conscience: but there being among those that were now in authority some also of a malicious temper, they always found means to hinder this good work: and it just now fell out so that something started up, which put a stop to the giving such a liberty as aforesaid; though it was advanced so far, that an order was drawn up for permitting the Quakers the free exercise of their worship; only the signing and seal to it was wanting, when all on a sudden the fifth-monarchy men made an insurrection. There was at that time a great number of this turbulent people in England; who perceiving that their exorbitant opinion was inconsistent with kingly government, which now had taken place, thought it not meet for their cause to sit still while the government, which was yet but new, should be fully settled and established. Perhaps they had also some intent to free some of the late king's judges, who were imprisoned; for among these was also sir Henry Vane, who having been one of the chief of the commonwealth party, was likewise said to be one of the heads of the fifth-monarchy men. It was in the night when these people made a rising; which caused such a stir, that the king's soldiers sounded an alarm by the beating of drums. The train-bands appeared in arms, and all was in an uproar, and both the mob and soldiers committed great insolences for several days: so that the Quakers though altogether innocent, became the object of the fury of their enemies, and many were haled to prison out of their peaceable meetings.

At that time George Fox was at London, and being lodged in Pall-mall, at night a company of troopers came, and knocked at the door where he was; which being opened, they rushed into the house, and laid hold on him. One of these that had formerly served under the parliament, clapped his hand to G. Fox's pocket, and asked, whether he had any pistol? G. Fox told him, he knew he did not use to carry pistols, why then did he ask such a question of him, whom he knew to be a peaceable man? Others of these fellows ran up into the chambers. and there found esquire Marsh, before mentioned, in bed, who though he was one of the king's bedchamber, yet out of love to G. Fox, came and lodged where he did. When the troopers came down again, they said, 'Why should we take this man away with us? We will let him alone.' 'Oh,' said the parliament soldier, 'he is one of the heads, and a chief ringleader.' Upon this the soldiers were taking him away. But esquire Marsh hearing of it, sent for him that commanded the party, and desired him

to let G. Fox alone, since he would see him forthcoming in the morning and then they might take him. Early in the morning there came a company of foot to the house; and one of them drawing his sword, held it over G. Fox's head, which made him ask, wherefore he drew his sword at a naked man? At which his fellows being ashamed, bid him put up his sword; and some time after they brought him to Whitehall, before the troopers came for him. As he was going out, he saw several of his friends going to the meeting, it being then the first day of the week; and he intended to have gone thither himself, if he had not been stopped: but now it being out of his power to keep them company, he commended their boldness, and encouraged them at persevere therein. When he was come to Whitehall, seeing the soldiers and people were exceeding rude, he began to exhort them to godliness. But some great persons coming by, who were envious at him, said, 'What, do ye let him preach? Put him into such a place, where he may not stir.' So he was put into that place, and the soldiers watched over him; but G. Fox told them, though they could confine his body, and shut that up, yet the word of life they could not stop. Some then asked him, what he was? He told them, he was a preacher of righteousness. After he had been kept there two or three hours, esq. Marsh spoke to the lord Gerard, who came, and bid them set G. Fox at liberty. When he was discharged, the marshal demanded fees. G. Fox told him he could not give him any; and he asked him, how he could demand fees of him who was innocent? Nevertheless he told him, that in his own freedom, he would give them two-pence to make him and the soldiers drink. But they shouted at that, which made him say, if they would not accept it, they might chuse; for he should not give them fees. Then he went through the guards, and came to an inn, where several of his friends at that time were prisoners under a guard, and about night he went to the house of one of his friends.

This insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men, caused great disturbance in the nation; and though the Quakers did not at all meddle with those boisterous people, yet they fell under great sufferings because of them; and both men and women were dragged out of their houses to prison, and some sick men off their beds by the legs; among which was one Thomas Pachyn, who being in a fever was dragged by the soldiers out of his bed to prison, where he died.

This persecution going on throughout the nation, Margaret Fell went to the king, and gave him an account how her friends, that were in no wise concerned in the said insurrection and riots, were treated; for several thousands of them were cast into prison. The king and council wondered how they could have such intelli-

gence, since strict charge was given for the intercepting of all letters, so that none could pass unsearched. But notwithstanding this, so much was heard of the numbers of the imprisoned, that Margaret Fell went a second time to the king and council, and acquainted them of the grievous sufferings of her friends. G. Fox then wrote a letter of consolation to his suffering friends; and also published in print, a declaration against all sedition, plotters, and fighters, wherein he manifested, that they were an harmless people, that denied wars and fightings, and could not make use of the outward sword, or other carnal weapons. This declaration was presented to the king and his council, and was of such effect, that the king gave forth a proclamation, that no soldiers should go to search any house, but with a constable. When afterwards some of the fifth-monarchy men were put to death because of their insurrection, they did the Quakers, so called, that right, that they cleared them openly from having a hand in, or knowledge of their plot. This and other evidences, caused the king, being continually importuned thereunto, to issue forth a declaration, that the Quakers should be set at liberty without paying fees.

Many of the Presbyterian preachers now temporized, and for keeping their benefices, joined with the Episcopalians, and did not stick to put on the surplice. But this gave occasion to many of their hearers to leave them, and join with the Quakers, so called, who could not comply with the times. Others, who were a little more steadfast, made use of their money to get liberty, though under the government of Cromwell they would permit of no liberty of conscience to others; insomuch that one Hewes, an eminent priest at Plymouth in Oliver's days, when some liberty was granted, prayed that God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates of the nation, to remove this cursed toleration. But this Hewes, after the king was come in, being asked by one, whether he would account toleration accursed now, answered only by shaking his head.

Now though many of the Quakers, as hath been said, were released from prison, yet they suffered exceedingly in their religious assemblies. Once a company of Irishmen came to Pall-mall, when G. Fox was there; but the meeting was already broke up; and he being gone up into a chamber, heard one of those rude persons, who was a colonel, say, he would kill all the Quakers. Whereupon G. Fox came down, and told him, 'The law said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but thou threatenest to kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt:' but said he further, 'Here is gospel for thee: here's my hair, here's my cheek, and here's my shoulder,' turning it to him. This so surprised the colonel, that he and his companions stood amazed, and said, 'If this be your principle, as you say, we never saw the like in our lives.' To which G. Fox said, 'What I am in words, I am the

same in life.' Then the colonel carried himself lovingly ; though a certain ambassador who stood without, and then came in, said, that this Irish colonel was such a desperate man, that he durst not come in with him, for fear he should have done great mischief.

Notwithstanding such like rude encounters, yet by the change of the government, some stop was put to the fierce current of persecution ; for the king being but newly settled on the throne, showed yet an inclination to lenity. But this quiet did not last long, and was but a time of respiration ; for the churchmen instigated (as it seems very probable) by the favourers of popery, continued envious, and staid but for an opportunity to show their malice. An instance of which hath been seen already on the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men, and in the sequel will be seen much clearer : since, though they did not seem to persecute for conscience-sake, yet under a colour of justice, laws were made use of, that had formerly been enacted for the suppression of popery, and to secure the kingdom against Jesuits, and other traitorous Papists ; these being the laws, of which G. Fox in his letter to the king had said, that they held up persecution about religion.

Now that it may be known what laws those were, and that it may also appear what an unreasonable use hath been made thereof, I shall here set them down, or abstracts of them ; that so it may be more plainly seen, what awkward means have been made use of, and how sinistrously the laws were executed. Sometimes I may interweave among these abstracts some observations, or an account of a case, which, though not placed in due time, may yet be serviceable to give a true notion of things. I now repair to those laws.

In the 27th year of king Henry VIII. a law was made for payment of tithes : for that king having either given or sold many chapels, and abbeyes to laymen, those laymen had no right, as priests claimed to have, to summon to ecclesiastical courts those that failed in paying of tithes. But for this a law was provided, by virtue of which, a judge of an ecclesiastical court might be helpful to laymen, and in that law it was said,

' If the judge of an ecclesiastical court make complaint to two justices of peace (*quorum unus*) of any contumacy, or misdemeanor committed by a defendant in any suit there depending for tithes, the said justices shall commit such defendant to prison, there to remain till he shall find sufficient surety to be bound before them by recognizance, or otherwise to give due obedience to the process, proceedings, decrees, and sentences of the said court.'

By this law, (which is pretended to be still in force,) many honest people have suffered, and been kept very long in prison ;

for they refusing to find surety for the payment of tithes, which for conscience-sake they could not give to such ministers who lived from a forced maintenance, and did not, (as they judged,) profit the people; it was in the power of the priests to detain them prisoners, till the pretended debt was paid; which the persecuted judged so unreasonable, that some have therefore continued in prison for many years, choosing rather to die in gaol, than to uphold such preachers, by paying tithes to them. And the Quakers, so called, have never offered resistance, but suffering and forbearance have always been their arms, though they were almost continually vexed with laws that were never made against them; and more especially were they molested with the oath of supremacy, which was made in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, though (it may be) projected in the time of Henry VIII. which runs thus:

‘ I *A. B.* do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the [king’s] highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other (his) highnesses dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal. And that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this realm: and therefore I do utterly renounce, and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear faith, and true allegiance to the [king’s] highness [his] heirs and lawful successors; and to my power, shall assist and defend all jurisdiction, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities, granted, or belonging to the [king’s] highness [his] heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and the contents of this book.’

In the first year of Queen Elizabeth, an act was made for uniformity of common-prayer and church-service, having this clause:

‘ Every person shall resort to their parish church, or upon let thereof, to some other, every Sunday and holiday, upon pain to be punished by censures of the church, and also to forfeit twelve-pence, to be levied by the churchwardens, there, for the use of the poor, upon the offender’s goods, by way of distress.’

Here is to be noted, that some have prosecuted the pretended offenders on this clause, to obviate greater severities; although this law was made because of the Papists, thereby to force them

to come to church ; for about that time there were not so many Protestant Dissenters in England as afterwards ; but these appearing in time, were as well under the lash of this law as the Papists ; for their religious assemblies were not reckoned to be churches as the steeple-houses by a metonymy generally have been called ; at the same rate as the Jews' meeting-houses have been called synagogues, though the word itself properly signifies the assembly of the people.

Now, since the aforesaid law was not strictly obeyed, not only by Papists, but also by others, who aiming at a further reformation, could not longer comply with the rites of the church of England, in the 23rd year of Elizabeth, a more severe law was made, with this clause :

‘ Every person not repairing to church, according to the statute of 1 Eliz. 2, shall forfeit twenty pounds for every month they so make default ; and if they so forbear by the space of twelve months, after certificate thereof, made by the ordinary unto the King's Bench, a justice of assize, gaol delivery, or peace of the county where they dwell, shall bind them with two sufficient sureties in 200*l.* at least, to their good behaviour, from which they shall not be released until they shall repair to church according to the said statute.’

This law it seems was not thought severe enough ; therefore in the 29th year of the said queen, another law was made with this clause :

‘ The queen may seize all the goods, and two-third parts of the lands and leases of every offender not repairing to church as aforesaid, in such of the terms of Easter and Michaelmas as shall happen next after such conviction, for the sum then due for the forfeiture of twenty pounds a month, and yearly after that (in the same terms) according to the rate of twenty pounds a month for so long time as they shall forbear to come to church, according to the said statute of 23 Eliz. 1.’

Upon these acts many were prosecuted ; but in the height of this proceeding, George Whitehead, Gilbert Lathey, and others, solicited king Charles II. in the behalf of their friends ; which had such effect, that the king ordered stay of process in divers counties ; yet afterwards the persecution was continued till after his death, both as to imprisonment, as well as seizing of goods : and other old laws were also made use of : for in the 35th year of queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Papists sometimes were forming plots

against the queen, an act was made, containing the effect of this clause :

‘ If any of above sixteen years of age shall be convicted to have absented themselves above a month from church, without any lawful cause, impugned the queen’s authority in causes ecclesiastical, or frequented conventicles, or persuaded others so to do, under pretence of exercise of religion, they shall be committed to prison, and there remain until they shall conform themselves, and make such open submission as hereafter shall be prescribed : and if within three months after such conviction, they refuse to conform, and submit themselves, being thereunto required by a justice of the peace, they shall in open assize, or sessions, abjure the realm : and if such abjuration happen to be before justices of the peace in sessions, they shall make certificate thereof at the next assize, or gaol delivery.

‘ And if such an offender refuse to abjure, or going away accordingly, doth return without the queen’s licence, he shall be adjudged a felon, and shall not enjoy the benefit of clergy ; but if before he be required to abjure, he makes his submission, the penalties aforesaid shall not be inflicted upon him.’

Though it may be supposed this act was made chiefly against Papists, yet some few of the Quakers, so called, have been prosecuted thereupon, which was for their lives ; for if they had been willing to depart the realm, yet such, who for conscience-sake could not swear at all, could not oblige themselves by oath that they would do so. And this being very well known, it once happened, that one William Alexander, of Needham, in Suffolk, being with several more indicted upon this act, was asked, ‘ Guilty, or not guilty ?’ He not being hasty to answer, the judge said, ‘ Why don’t you plead guilty or not guilty ?’ To which Alexander replied, ‘ What would’st thou advise us to plead ?’ The judge (who sometimes used to be severe enough) said, ‘ Do you ask my advice ?’ ‘ Yes,’ said Alexander. ‘ Then,’ returned the judge, ‘ you shall have it ; and I’ll advise you to plead not guilty.’ So the prisoners accordingly pleaded not guilty. Then said the judge to the prosecutors, ‘ Now you must prove these men, neither to have been at their own parish church, nor at any other church or chapel, else they are not within this act, which is a sanguinary law.’ Thus the judge carried on his discourse, to a discharge of Alexander and his friends from that severe indictment : for the prosecutors were not able to prove this with evidence, as the law required. One William Bennett had also been long in prison at Edmondsbury, in Suffolk, on this act, and one Richard Vickris near Bristol. But now I go back again.

After the demise of queen Elizabeth, when James I. had ascended the throne, the Papists still continued their wicked designs, of which the gunpowder-plot may serve for an instance. To suppress, therefore, these malicious people, and for the better discovering of them, in the third year of that king's reign, an act was made, in which was contained the following oath, which was to be taken by popish recusants :

I *A. B.* do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king James, is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries ; and that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church, or see of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or to dispose of any of his majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorise any foreign prince to invade, or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects from their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person, state, or government, or to any of his majesty's subjects within his majesty's dominions. Also I do swear from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration, or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the pope or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his see, against the said king, his heirs, or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise : and will do my best endeavour to disclose, and make known unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons, and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of to be against him, or any of them. And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, may be deposed, or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in my conscience am resolved, that neither the pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge, and swear

according to the express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God.'

This oath, commonly called the oath of allegiance, was afterwards called by the name of the test; and the introduction of it makes mention of the gunpowder-plot, and signifies that this expedient was contrived to discover Papists; and yet many of the people called Quakers, have suffered thereby many years; for though they did not refuse to declare their allegiance, yet because it was well known they were not for swearing at all, this oath was continually made use of as a snare to imprison them. Now the punishment stated against the recusants, was a *præmunire*: and how grievously many Quakers have been oppressed on that account, though not easily related, yet I may give instances in due places of several in the sequel. Other severe laws for persecution have been made since, as will be seen in their proper time.

At the close of this year, E. Burrough wrote a consolatory epistle to his fellow-labourers in the ministry of the gospel, which I cannot omit to insert here, because it shows very evidently how valiant he was in the service of Truth, which epistle is as followeth:

'Dearly and well-beloved brethren, in the heavenly relation, and blessed immortal birth, of which we are born most dearly in our Father's love; my salutation extendeth unto you all, as one with you perfectly in sufferings and in rejoicings, in faith and patience, and even in all things which you do and suffer for the name of the Lord our God; and my soul greets you, and embraces you, and fervently wishes peace, love, and unity, and the increase of every good gift unto you all; for I am perfectly one with you; if you receive of our Father's fulness, I am refreshed; and if you rejoice, I am glad; and if you suffer, and be in heaviness, I freely partake with you; whatsoever is yours, whether liberty or bonds, whether life or death, I partake of the same: and whatsoever I enjoy, the same also is yours; we are of one birth, of one seed, of one line, even of the generation of him who is without beginning of days, or end of life, who is an High-priest, made after the power of an endless life; and as he was blessed of the Father, so are we, because we are of the same birth, and are partakers of his nature, and he lives in us, and we in him.

'Well, my dear companions, I need not multiply words unto

you, as if you knew not these things ; for what know I, that you know not ? Or, what can I say, but you know the same ? Yet bear with me, for my heart is very full, and my soul ready to be poured forth, that I may once more express a little quantity of what is abounding in my heart ; for love, even perfect love, even that love wherewith we are beloved of the Father, filleth my heart at this time towards all of you, from the least to the greatest ; and I know nothing but love towards you all ; and I doubt not but in the same love you do receive this my salutation, which is from the fountain of love, which at this time is opened in my heart.

‘ Now, dearly beloved, the present considerations of my heart are very many concerning the great love of the Father, which hitherto hath been showed unto us ; we all know, how that he called us by his grace, and turned our hearts from the vanities and evil ways of this world, and sanctified us by his word, and put his image upon us, and called us by his name, and redeemed us unto himself, and gave us the testimony of his Holy Spirit in our own hearts, that we should be his people, and he would be our God ; he taught us, and instructed us, and fed us, and gave us peace and rest in himself, and freed us from the bondage of sin and corruption, and from his terror because of sin ; and he removed our transgressions, and blotted them out, and ceased to smite us any more, but brought us into the land of rest, flowing with mercy, and peace, and knowledge, and all good things. This did the Lord our God do for us in the days of our infancy, even when we were yet in our sins he called us forth, and cleansed us from them ; and when we were strangers to him, he made himself known unto us ; and when we were wholly ignorant, he gave us knowledge ; and when we were not a people, he raised us up, and made us worthy to be called by his name ; and thus, and after this manner did the Father love us, and show his love unto us : this you know, even as I do, and the consideration of it causeth me thus to express it.

‘ Again, when he had thus wrought for us, and showed love unto us, he was pleased to call us out into his work, to the turning and converting of others unto the way of life : he put his Spirit into us, and gave us gifts of knowledge and utterance, and armed us with wisdom, and strength, and courage, and every way fitted us for that work and service in which he hath carried us on ; he, I say, fitted us for his work, and called us into it, and carried us on joyfully in it, and all this of his free love, and infinite power ; and what we have been, and what we have done, it hath been only of the Lord, and not of ourselves, even of his love, which to us may be admirable : for alas ! what were we but children, and neither prophets, nor prophets’ sons, and our education unanswerable for these things, and to perform this calling ? And, therefore, it is

the Lord, and only he that hath effected his own purpose through us, and by us, as instruments mean of ourselves, but by him very excellent.

‘ Again, he hath mightily prospered us in his work, and a glorious effect we have beheld of our labours, and travels, and testimony: yea, the Lord hath been with us abundantly, and his arm hath compassed us about, and he hath often given us great victory over the wise and prudent of this world; he hath made his own word often very powerful in our mouths, to the wounding of the consciences of our enemies; and the Lord hath blessed our testimony, to the confounding the wisdom of this world, and to the gathering of many unto himself; and he hath gone forth before us in his authority, and been always with us in his own work; and our testimonies, labours, and travels have been very precious and pleasant unto the Lord, and all his people; and the effect thereof causeth my soul to rejoice, because the Lord hath been with us, and prospered us unto a great people, who have received our witness, and accepted thereof unto their salvation; and unto the Lord alone, the glory of all this appertaineth.

‘ And for these eight years and upward, the hand of the Lord hath carried us through great labours and travels in his service, and many dangers, and persecutions, and afflictions have attended us all this time; and ye know that many a time hath the Lord delivered us from the hands of such as would have destroyed us; and we have been delivered again and again, out of dangers and difficulties, and the Lord hath been a present help unto us in the time of our trouble; for the plotting of the wicked, and the purpose of ungodly men, hath often been broken for our sakes, even many a time have we been delivered out of the snare that hath been laid for us, and we have seen our enemies fall before us on the right hand and on the left, even the wise in their worldly wisdom, and the foolish in their brutishness, both professors and profane hath our God often cut short in their desires and endeavours of our destruction; and we have been wonderfully preserved unto this day; and all this I attribute to the infinite love and power of the Lord God, who is blessed for evermore.

‘ And through all these things we are yet alive, and the Lord doth not fail us unto this hour, but he lives and walks in us, and with us, and his testimony is with us, even the seal of his good Spirit in our hearts, that we are his sons and servants, and we are confirmed by many tokens that he is our God, and we are his people, and that great oppression which we have met withal, hath not restrained us, but through it all have we grown, and prospered unto this day: and concerning the things whereof we have testified these divers years, I am no way doubtful but our God will fulfil them, neither can my confidence be shaken by what is or can come to pass; for antichrist must fall, false ministry and worship,

false ways and doctrines God will confound, false power and false church the Lord will lay low, and truth and righteousness must reign ; and God will gather his people more and more, and glorious days will appear ; God will exalt his kingdom upon earth, and throw down the kingdom of the man of sin ; all oppression must cease, and the oppressors shall be no more ; and God will free his people, and they shall be happy in this world, and for ever. These things have we prophesied from day to day ; and my faith is constant and unmoveable, that God will effect these things in his season : for the Lord never yet deceived me, but what he hath said will surely come to pass.

‘ And therefore, brethren, let us be in hope and patience, and live in the word of patience, and not be faint-hearted, as though the Lord had forgotten us, or was unmindful of us, or as though he would not perform what he had testified of by us : for he is not a man, that he should lie, nor as a man, that he is given to change : but lift up your heads, for the Lord is with us, even in our greatest tribulations and afflictions, and he will accomplish his purpose ; for he is mighty to save his people, and to destroy his enemies.

‘ It is true, the gates of hell at this time seem to be open against us, and we are a people like to be swallowed up of our enemies, and floods of wickedness seem to overflow, and the waves of the great sea seem to be void of mercy, and the hope of our adversaries is to extinguish us from being a people, and to destroy us from the face of the earth ; and the hands of our persecutors are highly exalted at this day, as though all that we have done for the Lord, by our labours and travels, should now be made of none effect.

‘ Well, dear brethren, though it be thus, yet our God can deliver us, and confound our adversaries ; and we can appeal unto our God, and can spread our cause before him : and he knows that our sufferings and afflictions are altogether unjust, and unequal, and unrighteous ; and that our persecutors do afflict us out of their envy, and without any just cause administered unto them by us ; our God knows it, angels and saints know it, that we are at this day a persecuted people, for religion's sake ; and this our present affliction is not any just punishment, either from the justice of God, or from the justice of men.

‘ For God hath given us the witness of his eternal Spirit, that wrath is not in him towards us ; his wrath be to his enemies, but unto us is joy and peace for evermore : and the Lord clears us, and he justifies us, who then shall condemn us ? He chargeth no guilt upon us, as if we were unto ourselves the cause, by our evil deeds, of these our present sufferings, and as if this were come to pass upon us, as punishment from the hand of God : I say, it is not so ; these our present sufferings are not out of God's anger

towards us, for his love is to us, let his wrath be to his enemies : and as I said, neither is this suffering in the justice of men ; for unto all the world we can say, (and God himself shall plead our cause) whom have we wronged or done evil to ? What evil have we done to any man's person ? Whose goods have we falsely taken or coveted ? Against whom have we designed mischief ? Even the Lord himself be judge between us and our persecutors in this matter ; for unto him we are known that we do desire the good of all, and not the hurt of any, and yet we are dealt with as evil-doers ; when as the God of heaven is witness in our consciences, that we neither plot nor contrive, nor agitate in thought or word the hurt of any man's person : but we walk justly towards all, it being our principle to do to others as we would be done unto ; and we can plead our cause unto our God, and he shall plead our cause with our enemies, and this is the present state of our case ; what we suffer at this time it is singly in the cause of God, and for righteousness-sake, and for the testimony of Jesus, which we hold ; therefore freely let us commit our cause unto the God of heaven, and if we die, it is for him ; and if we live it is to him ; and we seek not vengeance against our enemies, but leave it to the Lord to plead with them.

‘ And, dearly beloved, I hope I need not exhort you to be patient and faithful in this day of our trial, knowing that the cause is so excellent in which we are tried, it is God's cause and not our own ; and I hope you all have the testimony of his Spirit in your consciences, verifying the truth of the cause for which we suffer ; and having that evidence, we need not to be doubtful as towards God, nor ashamed before men, if so be that every one feels the evidence of the Spirit of God bearing witness, that we suffer for righteousness-sake, and for the name of Christ Jesus.

‘ And so, dear brethren, lift up your heads, and be assured, that we are the Lord's, and in his cause we are tried, and he will judge and avenge our persecutors in his season, and we shall be a people when the Egyptians lie dead upon the sea-shore, and when the raging sea is dried up, this same people shall be safe : for hath the Lord done so excellent things for us ? Hath he led us forth, and blessed us unto this day ? And hath he preserved us hitherto through many tribulations and dangers ? Hath he showed infinite love and favour unto us to this hour ? And will he now suffer us to be destroyed from being a people ? Surely no : Will he give our enemies their heart's desire to cut us all off, that they may blaspheme his name ? Surely no :—and if it be the pleasure of the Lord, that some of us should seal our testimony with our blood, good is the will of the Lord ; not ours, but his will be done ; for the testimony that we have borne for these divers years, hath been so excellent in itself, and in its fruits and effects, that the finishing of it deserves the best seal that possibly

we can sign it with, which is indeed our heart's blood ; and this dwells upon my spirit ; and yet, though it should be thus, my confidence is sure, that the work of the Lord shall prosper, and our testimony shall be glorious for ever, and this people shall never be extinguished from being a people.

And I know not any thing that remains upon our part at this day, but that we commit ourselves into the hand of the Lord, living in the seed of God, wherein our election is sure before the world was, and for ever ; and let us remember one another, and pray one for another ; and let us stir up all the children of our Father to faithfulness and patience, while we have time ; I say, let us walk to the glory of the Lord, keeping faith and a good conscience to our last end ; our testimony shall never die, nor our memories ever perish when we are ceased to be ; and though we suffer now the loss of life, and all we have, yet the effects thereof will be glorious in ages to come, and our present sufferings will hasten the glory of God's work throughout the world : receive this as my salutation to you all.

' It is now eight days since I left Ireland, where my service hath been precious for the Lord for full six months, all which time the Lord carried me in much faithfulness and diligence in his service, to the confirming of many in the truth of God, and to the converting of others ; and through and because of the presence of the Lord which was with me, I had a very precious time, and was wonderfully preserved through many dangers and trials ; and I travelled near two thousand miles to and fro in that land, and had very free passage in the principal cities and towns, till my work for the present was fully ended there, having more time than could be expected to clear my conscience to all people. It would be too large to mention every particular transaction, wherein I perceived the eminent hand of God with me ; and also many things I observed concerning the present state of things which I shall not mention ; for what have we to do with the affairs of worldly kingdoms ? But as for friends, it was well with them, they grow and increase in the blessings and fulness of the Father ; and when I came thence all was quiet, and very few in prison, though (I suppose) the tidings of things as they are here, will produce the same sufferings upon them : but I hope they will be bold and valiant for the truth, in giving their testimony by faithful sufferings, till these things be finished.

' Thus I remain in life and death, and when I am no more, in everlasting remembrance, your dear brother and companion, by doing and suffering for the name of the Lord and his truth. I am well, and at liberty, as yet.

' E. B.'

11th of the twelfth month, 1660.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE year 1661 being come, the government was altogether changed. Charles II. was now seated on the throne of England in peace, and the power of persecution seemed somewhat restrained; so that there was an appearance of some quiet and calm. Therefore I will now take a turn to New England, to draw back the curtains of the bloody stage at Boston. We have already seen in the foregoing relation, how William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyar, were put to death by their persecutors, but their blood-thirstiness was not yet quenched.

William Leddra, who was banished from Boston on pain of death, was under such necessity of conscience, that he could not forbear returning thither; where he came about the conclusion of the foregoing year; but was soon taken prisoner, and being fastened to a log of wood, was kept night and day locked in chains, in an open prison, during a very cold winter; where we will leave him for the present, and in the meanwhile insert here an apology of the Boston persecutors concerning their cruel carriage, which may serve to confirm the truth of what hath been already related of their wicked dealings. For it seems, that fearing their bloody deeds would be disapproved of by the court of England, they thought it safest for them to gild their transactions with a specious pretence; though this was of no other effect than that thereby they yet more exposed their own shame to public view, and in process of time they also incurred the king's displeasure; for though Charles II. was inclined to voluptuousness, yet he was good-natured, and the persecution in his reign proceeded chiefly from the instigation of malicious men. But to come to the apology or declaration of the bloody persecutors, it was as followeth:

'Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyar, supported by

the authority of this court, the laws of this country, and the law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any necessity to apologize for the same: yet for as much as men of weaker parts; out of pity and commiseration, a commendable and Christian virtue, yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions, for want of a full information, may be less satisfied; and men of perverser principles led to calumniate us, and render us as bloody persecutors; to satisfy the one, and stop the mouths of the other, we thought it requisite to declare, that about three years since, divers persons professing themselves Quakers, (of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands from Barbadoes and England,) arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion; yet the prudence of this court was exercised, only in making provision to secure the peace and order here established, against their attempts, whose design (we were well assured by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster) was to undermine and ruin the same.

‘ And accordingly a law was made and published, prohibiting all masters of ships, to bring any Quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in on penalty of the house of correction, till they should be sent away. Notwithstanding which by a back-door they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted on themselves proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased by the loss of the ears of those who offended the second time; which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous frantic fury, necessitated us to endeavour our security; and upon serious consideration, after the former experiments by their incessant assaults, a law was made, that such persons should be banished upon pain of death, according to the example of England, in their provision against Jesuits; which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last court of assistants, against the parties above-named, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced by the court to death, according to the law aforesaid, which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyar (upon petition of her son, and the mercy and clemency of this court) had liberty to depart within two days; which she hath accepted of. The consideration of our gradual proceeding will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity, our own just and necessary defence

calling upon us (other means failing) to offer the point, which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become felons *de se*; which, might it have been prevented, and the sovereign law, *salus populi*, been preserved, our former proceedings, as well as the sparing Mary Dyar upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince, that we desire their lives absent, rather than their deaths present.

‘Edward Rawson, secretary.’

In this apology, wherein the Quakers (who always were an harmless people, and never made resistance with outward arms) are compared to the mutinous and riotous Anabaptists of Munster, it is also said of them, that by a back-door they found entrance. And this reflects on some who unexpectedly came into New England by land, since they could find no opportunity to come by sea, because the ship-masters fearing the severity of the Boston laws, were unwilling to carry any Quakers thither. This gave occasion to Thomas Thirstone (who having been already at Boston, was sent away on board a ship) to think on other means; for finding himself moved in spirit to go thither again, he and Josiah Cole (of whom mention hath been made before, and who may be further spoken of hereafter) went from England to Virginia, from whence they with one Thomas Chapman travelled several hundreds of miles on foot through vast wildernesses and woods, and so at length came into New England, which made the persecutors there astonished; for they thought this impossible, that way having been accounted unpassable for other men than the Indians, many of whom in those parts are warlike men, who behaved themselves well towards our travellers, whose journey however was very hard; for they had not only hunger and cold (it being winter time) to encounter with, but they were also in danger of being devoured by wild beasts, or of perishing in unknown marshes or bogs. But they were preserved by an Almighty hand; though this marvellous passage was represented like a criminal sauciness, by these New England persecutors.

It seems to me that the aforesaid apology (which was published in print, and likewise answered) was given forth before Mary Dyar was put to death; but after her death the general court of Boston sent over an address to king Charles II. signed by their governor John Endicot, to justify their cruel proceedings. Herein they said, that they had chosen rather the pure Scripture worship, with a good conscience, in that remote wilderness among the heathen, than the pleasures of England, with subjection to the imposition of the then so disposed, and so far prevailing hierarchy, which they could not do without an evil conscience.

Concerning the Quakers, they said, that they were open capital

blasphemers, and seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Christ, the blessed gospel; open enemies to the government itself; and malignant promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both church and state.

Moreover they said, that at last they had been constrained for their own safety to pass a sentence of banishment against them on pain of death, since the magistrate in conscience judged himself called for the defence of all to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them; and that this could do no harm to them that would be warned thereby. But the Quakers rushing themselves thereupon was their own act, and a crime, bringing their blood upon their own heads.

Could they have made the king believe this, they would willingly have done it; but he had too much sense to be thus imposed upon, though they did whatever they could to prevent his hearing the other party, in order whereunto they said, 'Let not the king hear men's words; your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order; not seditious to the interest of Cæsar.'

How smooth and plausible soever this seemed, yet it could not stand the test; and E. Burrough, who answered it in print, addressed the king thus:

'O king, this my occasion to present thee with these considerations is very urgent, and of great necessity, even in the behalf of innocent blood, hoping that my work will find such favour with thee, as to induce thee to the reading and serious consideration thereof.'

E. Burrough then examining all their pretended reasons, represented also to the king how some of these petitioners some time before had not stuck to write in a letter from Boston to one Gordon: 'There is more danger in these Quakers, to trouble and overcome England, than in the king of Scots, and all the popish princes in Germany;' which plainly denoted, that they reputed the king a troubler of England, whom they numbered with the popish princes of Germany. What E. Burrough obtained of the king for his friends, we may see hereafter.

But first I return to William Leddra, whom I left in prison: it was on the 9th of the first month of this year, that he was brought into the court of assistants, with his chains and log at his heels. And he asking the gaoler, when he intended to take off the irons from his legs; the gaoler roughly answered, 'When thou art going to be hanged.' W. Leddra then being brought to the bar, it was told him by the rulers, speaking of their law, that he was found guilty, and so, that he was to die. He said, 'What evil have I done?' The answer was, his own confession

was as good as a thousand witnesses. He asked, what that was? To which they answered, that he owned those Quakers that were put to death, and that they were innocent. Besides, that he would not put off his hat in court, and that he said 'thee' and 'thou.' Then said William to them, 'You will put me to death for speaking English, and for not putting off my clothes.' To this major-general Denison returned, 'A man may speak treason in English.' And William replied, 'Is it treason to say 'thee' and 'thou' to a single person?' But none answered, only Simon Broadstreet, one of the court, asked him, whether he would go for England? To which he answered, 'I have no business there.' Hereupon Broadstreet, pointing to the gallows, said, 'Then you shall go that way.' To which William returned, 'What, will ye put me to death for breathing in the air in your jurisdiction? And for what you have against me, I appeal to the laws of England for my trial; and if by them I am guilty, I refuse not to die.' Of this no notice was taken, but instead thereof, they endeavoured to persuade him to recant of his error, (as they styled it,) and to conform; to which with a grave magnanimity he answered, 'What! to join with such murderers as you are? Then let every man that meets me say, Lo this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation.'

Whilst the trial of W. Leddra was thus going on, Wenlock Christison, who was already banished upon pain of death, came into the court. This struck a damp upon them, insomuch that for some space of time there was silence in the court: but at length one of the bloody council cried, 'Here is another, fetch him up to the bar.' Which the marshal performing, the secretary Rawson said, 'Is not your name Wenlock Christison?' 'Yea,' said Wenlock. 'Well,' said the governor John Endicot, 'what dost thou here? Wast thou not banished upon pain of death?' To which Wenlock answered, 'Yea, I was.' And to the question, 'What dost thou here then?' he answered, 'I am come here to warn you that you should shed no more innocent blood: for the blood that you have shed already, cries to the Lord God for vengeance to come upon you.' Whereupon it was said, 'Take him away, gaoler.'

It having been told W. Leddra, that the last general court he had liberty given him to go for England, or to go out of their jurisdiction; and that promising to do so, and come there no more, he might save his life; he answered, 'I stand not in my own will, but in the will of the Lord: if I may have my freedom, I shall go, but to make you a promise I cannot.' But this was so far from giving content, that they proceeded to pronounce sentence of death against him; which being done, he was led from the court to prison again, where the day before his death he wrote the following letter to his friends:

‘ Most dear and inwardly beloved,

‘ The sweet influences of the morning star, like a flood distilling into my innocent habitation, hath so filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly swallowed up in the bosom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

‘ Alas, alas, what can the wrath and spirit of man, that lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and strength of the king of the locusts, which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the secret place of the Almighty? Or, unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of Peace? under whose armour of light they shall be able to stand in the day of trial, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and the sword of the spirit, which is their weapon of war against spiritual wickedness, principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, both within and without! Oh my beloved! I have waited as a dove at the windows of the ark, and have stood still in that watch, which the Master (without whom I could do nothing) did at his coming reward with fulness of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might in the love and life of God speak a few words to you, sealed with the spirit of promise, that the taste thereof might be a savour of life to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death: and if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my innocency with the streams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is in God, with whom and in whose presence there is life; in which, as you abide, you stand upon the pillar and ground of truth: for, the life being the truth and the way, go not one step without it, lest you should compass a mountain in the wilderness; for unto every thing there is a season.

‘ As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savour behind it, so doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom he hath made partakers of his divine nature; and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savour behind it, that many can say, they are made clean through the word that he hath spoken to them: in which innocent condition you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without him. Therefore, my dear hearts, let the enjoyment of the life alone be your hope, your joy and consolation, and let the man of God flee those things that would lead the mind out of the cross, for then the savour of the life will be buried: and although some may speak of things that they received in the life, as experiences; yet the life being veiled, and the savour that it left behind washed away by the fresh floods of temptation, the condition that they did enjoy in the life, boasted

of by the airy thing, will be like the manna that was gathered yesterday, without any good scent or savour. For, it was only well with the man while he was in the life of innocency; but being driven from the presence of the Lord into the earth, what can he boast of? And although you know these things, and (many of you) much more than I can say; yet, (for the love and zeal I bear to the truth and honour of God, and tender desire of my soul to those that are young, that they may read me in that from which I write, to strengthen them against the wiles of the subtle serpent that beguiled Eve,) I say, stand in the watch within, in the fear of the Lord, which is the very entrance of wisdom; and the state where you are ready to receive the secrets of the Lord: hunger and thirst patiently, be not weary, neither doubt! Stand still, and cease from thy own working, and in due time thou shalt enter into the rest, and thy eyes shall behold his salvation, whose testimonies are sure and righteous altogether: let them be as a seal upon thine arm, and as jewels about thy neck, that others may see what the Lord hath done for your souls: confess him before men, yea, before his greatest enemies; fear not what they can do unto you: greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world: for he will clothe you with humility, and in the power of his meekness you shall reign over all the rage of your enemies in the favour of God; wherein, as you stand in faith, ye are the salt of the earth; for, many seeing your good works, may glorify God in the day of their visitation.

‘Take heed of receiving that which you saw not in the light, lest you give ear to the enemy. Bring all things to the light, that they may be proved, whether they be wrought in God: the love of the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, are without light, in the world; therefore possess your vessels in all sanctification and honour, and let your eye look at the mark: he that hath called you is holy; and if there be an eye that offends, pluck it out, and cast it from you: let not a temptation take hold, for if you do, it will keep from the favour of God, and that will be a sad state; for without grace possessed, there is no assurance of salvation: by grace you are saved; and the witnessing of it is sufficient for you, to which I commend you all, my dear friends, and in it remain,

‘Your brother,

‘William Leddra.’

Boston gaol, the 13th of the
first month, 1660-61.

The day before he suffered.

The next day after this letter was written, the execution of W. Leddra was performed, which was on the 14th of the first month.

After the lecture was ended, the governor John Endicot came with a guard of soldiers to the prison, where W. Leddra's irons were taken off, with which he had been chained to a log both night and day during a cold winter; and now they were knocked off, according to what the gaoler once said, as hath been related before. William then having taken his leave of Wenlock Christison, and others then in bonds, when called, went forth to the slaughter, encompassed with a guard to prevent his speaking to his friends; which Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, and also banished on pain of death, seeing, and speaking against, one amongst the company said, 'O Edward, it will be your turn next!' To which captain Oliver added, 'If you speak a word, I'll stop your mouth.' Then W. Leddra being brought to the foot of the ladder, was pinioned, and as he was about to ascend the same, he took leave of his friend E. Wharton, to whom he said, 'All that will be Christ's disciples, must take up the cross.' He standing upon the ladder, somebody said, 'William, have you any thing to say to the people?' Thereupon he spoke thus, 'For the testimony of Jesus, and for testifying against deceivers, and the deceived, I am brought here to suffer.' This took so much with the people, that it wrought a tenderness in many. But to quench this, priest Allen said to the spectators, 'People, I would not have you think it strange to see a man so willing to die; for that's no new thing. And you may read how the apostle said, that some should be given up to strong delusions, and even dare to die for it.' But he did not say where the apostle speaks so, neither have I found it any where in holy writ; though I know that Paul saith, Rom. v. 7, "Peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die." But it seems it was sufficient for Allen, if he could but render Leddra odious; who however continued cheerful: for as the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he was heard to say, 'I commit my righteous cause unto thee, O God.' The executioner then being charged to make haste, W. Leddra at the turning of the ladder, cried, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit;" and so he was turned off, and finished his days. The hangman cut down the dead body, and lest it should be as barbarously used as those of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, (which none holding when cut down, fell to the ground to the breaking of W. Robinson's skull,) Edward Wharton, John Chamberlain, and others, caught the body in their arms, and laid it on the ground, till the hangman had stript it of its clothes; who having done so, said, that he was a comely man, as indeed he was. The body being stripped William's friends took it, laid it in a coffin, and buried it. For further confirmation of what hath been related, the following letter of one of the spectators, that was there accidentally, may be added:

Boston, March 26, 1661.

‘ On the 14th of this instant, here was one William Leddra, which was put to death. The people of the town told me, he might go away if he would: but when I made further inquiry, I heard the marshal say, that he was chained in prison, from the time he was condemned to the day of his execution. I am not of his opinion: but yet truly methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magistrates of Cambridge, who had been of the jury that condemned him, (as he told me himself,) and I asked him by what rule he did it? He answered me that he was a rogue, a very rogue. But what is this to the question, (I said,) where is your rule? He said, he had abused authority. Then I goes after the man, and asked him, whether he did not look on it as a breach of rule to slight and undervalue authority? And I said that Paul gave Festus the title of honour, though he was a heathen. (I do not say these magistrates are heathens.) I said then, when the man was on the ladder, he looked on me, and called me friend, and said, Know that this day I am willing to offer up my life for the witness of Jesus. Then I desired leave of the officers to speak, and said, Gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your persons and country, and yet a friend to both: and I cried aloud, for the Lord’s sake, take not away the man’s life; but remember Gamaliel’s counsel to the Jews: “If this be of man it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: but be careful ye be not found fighters against God.” And the captain said, Why had you not come to the prison? The reason was, because I heard, the man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the tree, and said, come down, William, you may go away if you will. Then captain Oliver said, it was no such matter; and asked what I had to do with it? And besides, bade me be gone: and I told them, I was willing; for I cannot endure to see this, I said. And when I was in the town, some did seem to sympathize with me in my grief. But I told them, that they had no warrant from the word of God, nor precedent from our country, nor power from his majesty, to hang the man. I rest,

‘ Your friend,

‘ Thomas Wilkie.’

‘ To Mr. George Lad, master of the America
of Dartmouth, now at Barbadoes.’

William Leddra being thus dispatched, it was resolved to make an end also of Wenlock Christison. He therefore was brought from the prison to the court at Boston, where the governor John

Endicot, and the deputy-governor Richard Bellingham, being both present, it was told him, 'Unless you renounce your religion, you shall surely die.' But instead of shrinking, he said with an undaunted courage, 'Nay, I shall not change my religion, nor seek to save my life; neither do I intend to deny my Master; but if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the preaching of the gospel, I shall save my life.' This noble resolution gave such a check to his persecutors, that they did not then go on with the trial, but sent him away to prison again. And it being said by somebody, that William Leddra was dead, a certain person said to Wenlock, 'O thy turn is next.' To which he gravely replied, 'The will of the Lord be done,' showing thereby his entire resignation.

Being now locked up again in prison, he was kept there till about the fourth month: but then the court being set, a spirit of confusion appeared there; and a division among several of the members; for though the greatest part were for taking the same course with him as with those that were already put to death, yet several would not consent to it. And as natural occurrences sometimes cause reflections among observing people, so it happened here; for during their deliberations how to deal with Wenlock Christison, which lasted for the space of two weeks, the sun in the firmament shone not, a thing at that season somewhat extraordinary; which gave occasion for some to say, that the sun abhorring this bloody business, hid itself from them. But after many debates, the sanguinary council at length agreed, and Wenlock was brought to the bar, where the governor, John Endicot, asked him, what he had to say for himself, why he should not die? He answered, 'I have done nothing worthy of death; if I had, I refuse not to die.' To this another said, 'Thou art come in among us in rebellion, which is as the sin of witchcraft, and ought to be punished.' Hence it appears how perversely these blood-thirsty persecutors applied the Holy Scriptures to their cruel ends, and so made a wrong use of the prophet Samuel's words to Saul; to which false conclusion Wenlock answered, 'I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven, not in contempt to any of you, but in love to your souls and bodies; and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of the deeds done in the body. Take heed (thus he went on) for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God.' Then said major-general Adderton, 'You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments: but the judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us as yet.' So insolent and hard-hearted may man become, as not to stick even to defy the Most High. But before we draw the curtains of this stage, we shall see the tragical end of this Adderton, who now received this

answer from Wenlock : ' Be not proud, neither let your spirits be lifted up ; God doth but wait till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race ; then will the wrath of God come upon you to the uttermost. And as for thy part, it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a thief in the night suddenly, when thou thinkest not of it.'

Then Wenlock asked, ' By what law will you put me to death ?' The answer was, ' We have a law, and by our law you are to die.' ' So said the Jews of Christ, (replied Wenlock,) we have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Who empowered you to make that law ?' To which one of the board answered, ' We have a patent, and are the patentees ; judge whether we have not power to make laws.' Hereupon Wenlock asked again, ' How have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England ?' ' No,' said the governor. ' Then (replied Wenlock) you are gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent ; and that is more than you can answer. Are you (asked he) subjects to the king, yea, or nay ?' ' What good will that do you ?' replied the secretary. ' If you are, (answered Wenlock,) say so ; for in your petition to the king, you desire that he would protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel amongst his loyal subjects.' To which one said, ' Yea, we are so.' ' Well (said Wenlock) so am I, and for any thing I know, am as good as you, if not better ; for if the king did but know your hearts as God knows them, he would see that they are as rotten towards him, as they are towards God. Therefore seeing that you and I are subjects to the king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation.' It was answered, ' You shall be tried by a bench and a jury :' for it seems they began to be afraid to go on in the former course of trial without a jury, this being contrary to the laws of England. But Wenlock said, ' That is not the law, but the manner of it ; for I never heard nor read of any law that was in England to hang Quakers.' To this the governor replied, that there was a law to hang Jesuits. To which Wenlock returned, ' If you put me to death, it is not because I go under the name of a Jesuit, but of a Quaker : therefore I appeal to the laws of my own nation.' But instead of taking notice of this, one said, that he was in their hands, and had broken their law, and they would try him. Wenlock still appealed to the law of his own nation : yet the jury being called over, went out, but quickly returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon the secretary said, ' Wenlock Christison, hold up your hand.' ' I will not,' said Wenlock, ' I am here and can hear thee.' Then the secretary cried, ' Guilty or not guilty ?' ' I deny all guilt,' replied Wenlock, ' for my conscience is clear in the sight of God.' But the governor said, ' The jury hath

condemned thee.' Wenlock answered, 'The Lord doth justify me; who art thou that condemnest?'

They then voted as to the sentence of death, but were in a manner confounded, for several could not vote him guilty of death. The governor seeing this division, said, 'I could find in my heart to go home:' being in such a rage, that he flung something furiously on the table; which made Wenlock cry, 'It were better for thee to be at home than here, for thou art about a bloody piece of work.' Then the governor put the court to vote again; but this was done confusedly, which so incensed the governor, that he stood up and said, 'You that will not consent, record it: I thank God I am not afraid to give judgment.' Thus we see that to be drunk with blood, doth not quench the thirst after blood; for Endicot the governor, seeing others backward to vote, precipitately pronounced judgment himself, and said, 'Wenlock Christison, hearken to your sentence: you must return to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you must be hanged until you are dead, dead, dead.' To which Wenlock said, 'The will of the Lord be done, in whose will I came amongst you, and in whose counsel I stand, feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me unto the last gasp.' Moreover he cried thus: 'Known be it unto you all, that if ye have power to take my life from me, my soul shall enter into everlasting rest and peace with God, where you yourselves shall never come. And if ye have power to take my life from me, the which I do question, I do believe you shall never more take Quakers' lives from them: note my words; do not think to weary out the living God, by taking away the lives of his servants. What do you gain by it? for the last man that you have put to death, here are five come in his room. And if ye have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God.' The holy confidence with which he uttered these words show, and the sequel made it appear plainly, that something supernatural was contained in them: and it is remarkable, that among the imprisoned Quakers, there were then several that had been banished on pain of death; and among these also Elizabeth Hooton; and Edward Wharton staid in his habitation contrary to his sentence of banishment.

Wenlock having received sentence of death, was brought to prison again, where having been detained five days, the marshal and a constable came to him with an order from the court for his enlargement, with twenty-seven more of his friends, then in prison for their testimony to the truth, saying they were ordered by the court to make him acquainted with their new law. 'What

means this?' said Wenlock, 'Have ye a new law?' 'Yes,' said they, 'Then ye have deceived most people,' said Wenlock. 'Why?' said they. 'Because,' said he, 'they did think the gallows had been your last weapon. Your magistrates said that your law was a good and wholesome law, made for your peace, and the safeguard of your country. What, are your hands now become weak? The power of God is over you all.'

Thus the prison doors were opened, and Wenlock, with twenty-seven more of his friends, as aforesaid, set at liberty, save that two of them, viz. Peter Pearson and Judith Brown, being stripped to the waist, and fastened to a cart's tail, were whipped through the town of Boston with twenty stripes apiece.

Now though not long after an order came from the king, as will be said anon, whereby these persecutors were charged to desist from putting the Quakers to death, yet it seems they had got some scent of the king's displeasure, who had a mind to stop their bloody career: for having got a book written by George Bishop, containing a relation of the cruel persecution in New England, and reading a passage concerning major-general Denison, who, to put off those that complained of their wicked proceedings, said, 'This year ye will go to complain to the parliament, and the next year they will send to see how it is: and the third year the government is changed.' He took much notice of this, and calling to the lords to hear it said, 'Lo, these are my good subjects of New England: but I will put a stop to them.'

It was not long before an opportunity was offered; for the news of William Leddra's death being come into England, with an information of the danger that others were in of going the same way, their friends took it so to heart, especially Edward Burrough, that having got audience of the king, he said to him, there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not stopped would overrun all. To which the king replied, 'But I will stop that vein.' Then Burrough desired him to do it speedily; 'for we know not,' said he, 'how many may soon be put to death.' The king answered, 'As soon as you will. Call (said he to some present) the secretary, and I will do it presently.' The secretary being come, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, going again to the king, to desire despatch of the matter, the king said he had no occasion at present to send a ship thither; but if they would send one, they might do it as soon as they could. E. Burrough then asked the king if it would please him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker, to carry the mandamus to New England. The king answered, 'Yes, to whom you will.' Whereupon E. Burrough named one Samuel Shattock, who being an inhabitant of New England, was banished on pain of death, if ever he returned thither. And the king accordingly

granted the deputation to him, with full power to carry the mandamus, which was as followeth :

‘ CHARLES R.

‘ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Having been informed that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like: we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death, or other corporeal punishment, or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offences laid to their charge; to the end that such course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to our laws, and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

‘ Given at our court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.

‘ By his majesty’s command,

‘ William Morris.’

The superscription was :

To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicot, Esq. and to all and every other the governor, or governors of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be; and to all and every the ministers and officers of our said plantations and colonies whatsoever, within the continent of New England.’

Thus favourable the king manifested himself; and in England persecution for religion was a little at a stand; but it was but a kind of respite. G. Fox the younger, a man of excellent qualifications, and great boldness, foresaw an imminent storm; and lest any carelessness might enter among his friends, in the fourth month he wrote the following exhortation to them :

‘ What my heavenly Father hath determined for these men to do, no man can stop it: O that patience might be abode in by all that know his name, and his will submitted unto by them

that he hath called. O be still, strive not, but drink the cup which our Father suffereth to be given; I know it will be bitter to some; but whosoever striveth against it shall come to loss and shame: for the Lord will yet further try his people, till it be fully and clearly manifest who are the approved in his sight. This he will certainly do; therefore let not the present calm beget a wrong security in any, for lo the day hastens, and cometh swiftly, that another storm must arise; and in vain will it be to fly to the tall cedars and strong oaks for shelter; for nothing but the name of the Lord can preserve in that day.

‘George Fox, the younger.’

That this G. Fox did not reckon amiss, when in this exhortation he said ‘the day hastens that another storm must arise,’ we shall see ere long: but first we must take a view of things in America.

This mandamus to the rulers of New England being obtained, as hath been said, quick dispatch was thought necessary to send it thither. And Samuel Shattock being empowered by the king to carry it, an agreement was made with one Ralph Goldsmith, who was master of a good ship, and also one of those called Quakers, for three hundred pounds, (goods or no goods,) to sail in ten days. He then immediately made all things ready to set sail, and with a prosperous gale arrived in about six weeks’ time before the town of Boston in New England, upon a first day of the week. The townsmen seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board, and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. Then they asked him whether he had any letters; and he said ‘Yes,’ Whereupon they asked if he would deliver them; but he said, ‘No, not to-day.’ So they went ashore, and reported there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who they knew was by their law liable to be put to death, for coming in again after banishment: but they knew not his errand nor authority.

All being thus kept close, and none of the ship’s company suffered to go on shore that day, next morning Samuel Shattock, the king’s deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the vessel, went on shore; and sending the men that landed them back to the ship, they two went through the town to the governor John Endicot’s door, and knocked. He sending a man to know their business, they sent him word their business was from the king of England, and that they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself. Thereupon they were admitted to go in, and the governor came to them, and commanded Shat-

tock's hat to be taken off, and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he laid off his hat; and ordering Shattock's hat to be given him again, he looked upon the papers, and then going out went to the deputy-governor, and bid the king's deputy, and the master of the ship follow him. Being come to the deputy-governor, and having consulted with him about the matter, he returned to the two aforesaid persons, and said, 'We shall obey his majesty's command.' After this, the master of the ship gave liberty to the passengers to come ashore, which they did, and met together with their friends of the town, to offer up praises to God for this wonderful deliverance.

Now, for as much as several of their friends were yet in prison at Boston, the following order was given forth by the council not long after:

To William Salter, keeper of the prison at Boston.

'You are required by authority, and order of the general court, forthwith to release and discharge the Quakers, who at present are in your custody. See that you do not neglect this.

'By order of the court,

'Edward Rawson, Secretary.'

'Boston, 9th Dec. 1661.'

They then consulted what to do that they might not incur the king's displeasure; and it was agreed to send a deputation to him. First, colonel Temple was sent to acquaint the king with their having set the Quakers at liberty; and he was followed not long after by the chief priest John Norton, and Simon Broadstreet one of the magistrates.

The year was now spent: but before I conclude it I must take notice, as a pregnant instance of the marvellous vicissitude of mundane affairs, that in the fore-part of this year, the body of O. Cromwell, which had been buried with great state in Westminster Abbey, was dug up, as were also the bodies of Bradshaw and Ireton, which three corpses were carried in carts to Tyburn, and there hanged on the gallows. Then the executioner chopped off the heads, stamped with his foot on the bodies, which were tumbled into a pit, dug near the gallows; and the heads were exposed on the top of Westminster Hall, where I remember to have seen them. And that now befel Cromwell which he said about seven years before in his speech to the parliament, as hath been mentioned in its due place, viz. That he would rather be rolled into the grave, and buried with infamy, than give his consent to the

throwing away one of the fundamentals of that government, to wit, liberty of conscience. And yet he suffered persecution to go on, as hath been related at large : but now, according to his saying, he was rolled with infamy into the grave : which may serve indeed for a remarkable instance of the justice and equal judgments of God.

About this time a book came out at London, bearing the title of *Semper Idem*, [i. e. Always the same,] or a *Parallel of Fanatics*. The author concealed his name ; but he made it appear sufficiently, that he was a Papist, and it may be a Jesuit : for he inveighed not only against the Quakers and Baptists, but also against the Presbyterians, and even Episcopalians, and consequently against all Protestants. Nay, the martyrs that were burnt in the bloody reign of queen Mary, eldest daughter to king Henry VIII. were no less vilified than the Quakers, in the said book, by the scornful name of rebels and fanatics. This book, was sold publicly, and it seemed that none durst oppose it, for fear of displeasing the court. But E. Burrough, who was of an undaunted courage, and so continued till his death, employed his pen to refute it, and gave forth his answer in print, plainly showing what the anonymous author aimed at, viz. that he would have the cruel usage of fire and faggots revived, and wished to see the burning of reputed heretics brought again into vogue. Which was the more to be taken notice of, because such a publication of vilifying the martyrs with calumnies, had not been seen at London for above an hundred years ; and all the groundless positions of the said author were very notably answered by the said E. Burrough.

And since persecution in the latter end of this year began to appear with open face again, he published a book, which he called *Antichrist's Government justly detected*. This he dedicated to all the rulers, &c. in the (so called) Christian world ; and therein, with sound arguments, manifested the unlawfulness and injustice of persecution, and from whence it had its rise ; and how dangerous it was to impose a religion.

Next he treated at large concerning heresy, and what punishment pertained to such as are truly convicted of it. But lest any might think that he was for opposing the duty of the civil magistrate against malefactors, he said concerning the punishment of heresy, (which he stated to be only an ecclesiastical censure,) that he only intended this, where the error of a man and his heresy in his mind and judgment, did only extend to the hurt of his own soul, and against God, and not to the harm of his neighbour's person or estate. But (thus continued he) if his error and heresy do extend further than only against God and his own soul, even to outward wrongs, or evils, or violence, or visible mischiefs committed, as murders, or other the like crimes against men, to the

injuring of others, then I forbid not outward external punishment, to be corporally inflicted upon the person and estate of such a man ; but it ought to be done, and that by the laws of men, provided for the same end ; even such a man's error, in such his wrong dealing, may justly and lawfully be punished with death, banishment, or penalties, according to the desert of the crime, &c. The author also wrote circumstantially concerning the government of antichrist, and showed the deceit that was in it, and who were the subjects of his kingdom.

It was somewhat before this time that George Fox, the younger, being a prisoner, and seeing an intent of promoting popery, wrote the following letter to the king :

‘ The King of kings hath beheld, yea, the King of kings hath seen even all thy actings in the dark, and he hath traced thy walking in obscure places : and thou hast not hid thy counsels from the Almighty, but he hath seen all the intents of thy heart and thy good words have not at all deceived him, nor those that purely stood in his counsel ; for he hath seen the snares, and beheld the pits which privily have been preparing for the innocent, (even in the time when smooth words have been given,) and he hath showed them unto others : Oh ! that thou wouldst have taken counsel of the Lord, and obeyed the same, thou shouldst have been prospered : but thou hast taken counsel of them which have caused thee to err : thou hast also sought to exalt and establish thyself, and thy own honour, and not the truth and honour of God only ; which if thou hadst truly done (in the self-denial) God would have honoured thee : thou hast not taken the Lord for thy strength and stay, but thou hast leaned to that which cannot help thee, even to that which will prove a broken reed unto thee, if thou comest to prove its strength. Thou hast greatly dishonoured and grieved the Lord, by thy setting up ministers which he loathes, and by thy providing a forced maintenance for them by an unjust law, that so they may yet make a prey of his people, who for conscience-sake cannot put into their mouths, being spiritually gathered therefrom by the word of the Lord. Thou hast also grieved the Spirit of the Lord, in that thou hast not put a difference betwixt that which the Spirit of the Lord moved, and that which is moved by the evil lusts of men ; and hereby thou hast justified that which God hath condemned, and condemned that which he hath justified, and will justify in the sight of his enemies. O, friend, it is not the person of any man which the Lord regards, but it is righteousness which he hath respect to, and so far as man (whatever he may be) by the drawing of the Truth comes into righteousness, and acts therein, so far hath the Lord unity with him, and no further ; these things should have been considered by thee. Thou hast also grieved the Holy God by

thy suffering all these wicked and profane shows and sports, (which have abounded since thy coming in,) by which the Lord's good creatures have been abused, wasted, and devoured. Thou hast highly displeased the Lord God, by thy suffering persecution to be acted in thy name, even whilst thou in words hast promised liberty ; yea, many are this day in holes and prisons, for the testimony of a good conscience, and obeying the doctrine of Christ. Oh ! the Lord is grieved with the pride and wickedness that is lived in, both in thy family and dominions, and thou thyself hast not been such a pattern and example amongst them as thou oughtest to have been. O, friend ! when I behold the wickedness, cruelty, and oppression, that abounds in this nation in open view, and also the secret abominations which are committed, and are plotting and lurking in the chambers, verily my life is even bowed down because of the fierce wrath of the Almighty, which I see is kindled ; and because of the great destruction which I see attends the wicked, whose ends and counsels the Lord will frustrate, and upon whom he will pour out everlasting contempt : yea, and it hath been oft in me, before thou camest last into the land, and also since, even when it hath been shown me, what idolatry is intended in secret to be brought in, that certainly it had been better for thee that thou hadst never come, for I have seen it tending to thy destruction. And when I have seen the abomination and cruelties which are committed and intended, there hath a pity arose in me towards thee for thy soul's sake ; and it hath been my desire, if it might stand with the will of God, that he would put it into thy heart to go out of the land again, that so thy life might be preserved, and that thou mightest have time to repent ; for although many men flatter and applaud thee for self-ends, yet I see the Lord is displeased with thy ways. Let no man deceive thee by feigned words ; God will not be mocked : such as thou sowest, such must thou reap. Thou canst not hide thyself from the Lord, nor deliver thyself from the stroke of his hand : O consider, how soon hath the Lord taken away thy brother, who, according to outward appearance, might have lived longer than thee ! O, think not that men can preserve thee, though all the nations about promise to help thee ! Yet when the Lord appears against thee, thou must fall ; verily there is a great desolation near, thy hand cannot stay it ; God hath decreed that he may exalt his own kingdom ; the nations are like a boiling pot, a little flame will set them on fire ; and the windy doctrine of the priests shall help to kindle it : Oh, the day will be terrible, who may abide it ? The stubble will be consumed, and the chaff shall be burned ; the ungodly shall be abased, for they cannot stand in judgment ; but the seed shall be exalted. O what shall I say that might be for thy safety ? Verily I can say little, the Lord's decree must stand : the Lord is highly displeased, and his wrath is near to be re-

vealed : and he is swift in his goings, and he will shorten the days of his enemies for his elect sake. O that thy soul might be saved in the day of the Lord ; my spirit is in suffering for thee, my soul is afflicted within me because of the approaching of the day of thy calamity, from which no man can deliver thee. This is the Truth that must stand, and in love to thy soul it is declared, by him who must deal uprightly with all men : though for it I suffer outwardly, yet I have a witness in my conscience, unto which I am made manifest ; and peace with the Lord is my portion, which is better than an earthly crown.

‘ George Fox, the younger.’

This was given him the 9th day of the eighth month, 1660.

This letter (a clear evidence of the author’s innocent courage) was delivered to the king, who read it, and seemed to be reached thereby, and touched at heart : but his brother, the duke of York, was displeased with it, and being violently set against the author, advised the king to use severity towards him ; but the king being good-natured, said, ‘ It were better for us to mend our lives.’

Whilst the said G. Fox was prisoner in Lambeth-house, he wrote also a small treatise, called, ‘ England’s sad Estate and Condition Lamented.’ Herein he reprov’d the grievous abominations committed among the inhabitants, oppression by persecution, and the hypocrisy of the priests. He also predicted the pestilence, as may be mentioned hereafter in due place ; and signified not obscurely, that endeavours would be used publicly to introduce superstition and idolatry : but that those who intended to do so, should be frustrated by the Lord in their attempts. And that others, whose worship also did displease the Lord, should grind and waste one another : but that beyond their expectation, he would pluck out from them, and preserve a holy seed. And that after he should have executed his vengeance upon the rebellious and treacherous dealers, he would then bring forth the remnant of his holy seed, which should be preserved from their fury ; and then they should spread over all, and stand in dominion. ‘ But,’ thus continued he, ‘ although these things, touching the holy remnant, shall certainly be fulfilled in their season, yet before they will be fully accomplished, great will be the trials of many of the righteous, and there will be great judgments executed in thee, O land, by him who oftentimes maketh a fruitful land barren, because of the wickedness of them that dwell therein.’ This and much more he wrote, and published it in print. Several of his predictions we have seen fulfilled, as in the progress of this history may appear : and this last we must refer to in time. After the writing of this treatise, he also gave forth the following prayer :

‘ Surely it was thou, O Lord, that gave bounds unto the sea,

that the floods thereof could not overwhelm thy chosen: thou canst let forth the winds, and suffer a storm; and thou canst make a calm when thou pleasest. Have thou the glory of all, thou King of saints, thou Saviour of Israel. Thou canst do whatever thou pleasest, therefore will we trust in thy name, neither will we fear what men can do unto us, because thou wilt not forsake us; but thou wilt plead our cause in the sight of our adversaries, and they shall know that thou art our God, who art able to save to the uttermost. O Lord, our righteousness, we will praise thy name; for thy mercies endure for ever. Our eyes, O God, are unto thee, for we have no other helper. Our faith, O Lord, standeth in thee, who canst not forget thy people. Thou hast revealed and brought up Jacob, who wrestleth with thee, and prevails as a prince, therefore must the blessing come. O Lord, the birth, the birth, crieth unto thee, thine own elect, which long hath been oppressed. Thou canst not deny thyself, therefore have we faith, and hope which maketh not ashamed. O Lord, how unsearchable are thy ways! Thou hast even amazed thy people with the depth of thy wisdom; thou alone wilt have the glory of their deliverance; and therefore hast thou suffered these things to come to pass. O Lord, thou art righteous in all thy judgments: only preserve thy people which thou hast gathered, and wilt gather unto thyself, in the day of trial; that so they may sing of thy power, and magnify thy name in the land of the living,

This G. Fox wrote also in prison several other papers and epistles for exhortation and consolation of his friends: but his work was soon done, so that not long after he departed this life, which was in this, or the next year. He was, as may be seen from his writings, a man of extraordinary resignation and courage; and that he gave up his life, if required, may appear from a small book that he wrote, being prisoner in Lambeth-house, which he called, 'The Dread of God's Power uttering its Voice through Man, unto the Heads of the Nation.' Herein he exhorted the rulers very earnestly to do justice; and said amongst the rest,

'Friends,
'I must deal plainly with you in the sight of God, who hath made me a prophet to the nation. I may not flatter any of you. My life is in the hand of my Maker, and not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without his providence. He hath redeemed my soul from hell, and my mind from the earth; and he hath given me his good Spirit to lead me. I am henceforth no more my own, but I am the Lord's, who hath formed me to his praise, and hath brought me forth, that I may sound forth his powerful Truth amongst the people. Therefore, must I not fear man, neither must I be afraid of the sons of men.'

Thus undaunted he showed himself: but it was not long before he made his exit, of which I cannot but say something. In his sickness I find, that though he was weak in body, yet he was strong in spirit, so that he would even sing for joy of heart. He exhorted his friends to keep in unity, foreseeing (it may be) that something would rise which might give occasion for division: and then with much fervency of spirit, he prayed God, and exhorted his friends, to keep their garments unspotted of the world, because great was the day of trial that was at hand. Afterwards recommending them to the Lord, he took his leave of them, and slept in perfect peace with the Lord, being of sound memory to the last. Now the dust was returned to the earth, and the spirit unto God who gave it. Thus he was freed of all danger of losing the crown of immortal life, which man by temptation, and the casualties of this life, is liable unto, if he continueth not diligently watchful. But this valiant was now beyond the reach of all temptations, and so I leave him, that I may pass on to other matters.

In this year E. Burrough wrote a paper to the king and his council, which he called, 'A Just and Righteous Plea,' in which he proposed at large the reasons why the people called Quakers, refused to take the oath of allegiance, viz. That it was not because they would not be faithful to the king, but only for conscience-sake, since Christ so expressly had commanded his followers, "Swear not at all," which command they durst not transgress. Yet to assure the government of their faithfulness, he said thus:

'We are now, and shall be faithful, innocent, and peaceable, in our several stations and conditions, under this present government of king Charles II. whom we acknowledge supreme magistrate and governor over this kingdom: and for conscience-sake we are obedient and submissive to him, as such, in all his commands, either by doing and performing of what he justly requireth, or by patient suffering under whatsoever is inflicted upon us, in the matters for which we cannot be obedient for conscience-sake, when any thing is required of us different from the just law of God. And to this subjection to the king and his government, we are bound by the law of righteousness; and such hath ever been our principle and practice, and is unto this day, even to be quiet, and peaceable, and patient under every authority that is set over us; and not in unrighteousness, to plot, or contrive, or rebel, against any government, or governors, nor to seek our own deliverance from injustice and oppression in such a way. And we are persuaded to seek the preservation of the king's person and authority, by all just and lawful means, and not to rebel against him with carnal weapons; and so far as his government is in justice, mercy, and righteousness, we declare true and faithful subjection and obedience thereunto; and wherein it is otherwise, we shall be subject by pa-

tient suffering what is unequally imposed upon us, and yet not rebel in any turbulent way of conspiracies and insurrections: for our principles are not for war, but for peace with all men so much as in us lies; neither may we render evil for evil to any, but are to be subject to the king and his government, actively or passively, upon the conditions aforementioned.

‘ And we renounce all foreign authority, power, and jurisdiction of the pope, or any else, from having any supremacy whatsoever over the king, or any the good subjects of England. And this we declare, acknowledge, and testify, in the fear and presence of God, (to whom we and all mankind must give an account,) and that without secret equivocation, or any deceitful mental reservation.’

Thus fully E. Burrough declared himself, and gave also a circumstantial relation of the practice of his friends meeting together or their way of public worship, thereby to assure the government of their peaceable behaviour and fidelity. But all this proved in vain; for it being well known that the Quakers denied swearing, they continually were vexed and persecuted, under a pretence of not giving due satisfaction of their being faithful to the government, and so transgressing the laws.

Now the deputies of New England came to London and endeavoured to clear themselves as much as possible, but especially priest Norton, who bowed no less reverently before the archbishop than before the king; and thus fawning upon the Episcopalians, they found means to keep in a condition to vex the Quakers, so called, though they were forbidden to put them to death: and that many of the bishops were great enemies to the said Quakers, appeared plainly from the cruel persecution which after a short calm arose again in England.

But to return to the New England deputies, they would fain have altogether excused themselves; and priest Norton thought it sufficient to say, that he did not assist in the bloody trial, nor had advised to it: but John Copeland, whose ear was cut off at Boston, charged the contrary upon him: and G. Fox, the elder, got occasion to speak with them in the presence of some of his friends; and asked Simon Broadstreet, one of the New-England magistrates, whether he had not a hand in putting to death those they nick-named Quakers? He not being able to deny this, confessed he had. Then G. Fox asked him and his associates that were present, whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subjects to the laws of England; and if they did, by what laws they put his friends to death? They answered, they were subjects to the laws of England; and they had put his friends to death by the same law as the Jesuits were put to death in England. Hereupon G. Fox asked, whether they did believe that

those his friends, whom they had put to death, were Jesuits, or jesuitically affected? They said, 'Nay.' Then replied G. Fox, 'Ye have murdered them; for since ye put them to death by the law that Jesuits are put to death here in England, it plainly appears, you have put them to death arbitrarily, without any law.' Thus Broadstreet finding himself and his company ensnared by their own words, asked, 'Are you come to catch us?' But he told them, they had caught themselves, and they might justly be questioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinson (one of those that were put to death) were in town, it was probable he would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy: for he not being of the Quakers' persuasion, would perhaps not have so much regard to the point of forbearance, as they had. Broadstreet seeing himself thus in danger, began to flinch and to skulk; for some of the old royalists were earnest with the Quakers to prosecute the New England persecutors. But G. Fox and his friends said, they left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it. Broadstreet however, not thinking it safe to stay in England, left the city, and with his companions went back again to New England.

Not long before this time, G. Fox, with the help of John Stubs and Benjamin Furly, published a book, called, 'A Battledoor.' In this book were set forth examples of about thirty languages, to show that every language had its particular denomination for the singular and the plural number, in speaking to persons; and in every page where the description began, the shape of a battledoor was delineated. This work was promoted to public view by G. Fox, to show the learned (if possible to convince them) that the custom of those called Quakers, to say 'Thou' to a single person, though it were to the king, and not 'You,' was not irregular nor absurd, but had been used anciently; and that therefore they could not justly be charged with unmannerliness, because they followed not the common custom, which was crept in through the pride of men. Now though Ger. Croese doth disapprove in G. Fox, that he put his name to this book as well as J. Stubs and B. Furly, yet I do not think it so improper as the said author doth; for G. Fox was a great promoter of that work; and though he was not skilled in languages, and some were for calling him an idiot, or a fool, yet I know him to have been a man of good understanding, and of deep judgment. In his journal he freely owns, that John Stubs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in the compiling of the said book, which he put them upon, and added also some things to it; so that in some respect he might be esteemed author too. At the end of the book he added:

'The pope set up [You] to [One] in his pride, and it is the pride which cannot bear 'thou' and 'thee' to one, but must have

and would have 'You,' from the author their father in their pride, which must not but have the word Thou, which was before their father the pope was, which was God's language, and will stand when the pope is ended.

'G. F.'

This book (in which J. Stubs and B. Furly gave also directions for learners to read the Hebrew, Oriental, and other languages) was liberally disposed of; some of them were presented to the king and his council, to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the bishop of London, and also one to each university. The king confessed that the distinction between plural and singular, in regard of persons, was the proper language of all nations: and the archbishop being asked what he thought of it, was so at a stand, that he could not tell what to say to it; for it appears he would not commend it, neither could he resolve to disapprove it. Yet it did so inform and convince people, that many afterward were not near so much offended at saying 'Thou' and 'Thee' to a single person, as they were before.

Now many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn upon those called Quakers, and said publicly, that of all the sects the Quakers were the best, and most self-denying people; and that it was great pity that they did not return to holy mother church: and though they might have been in hopes thereby to have gained proselytes from the Quakers, yet they were disappointed. In the meanwhile they did but ill service to the Quakers thereby; for this gave occasion to their enemies to divulge, that there was an affinity and collusion between the Quakers and the Papists. Some Jesuits signifying that they would willingly discourse with the Quakers, G. Fox consented to it, and in order thereunto, time and place were appointed: whereupon two of the loyalists came, being dressed like courtiers, and they asked the names of G. Fox and those with him. G. Fox then asked them the same question he had once before (as hath been said already) asked a Jesuit, viz. whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from the church in the primitive times; from the spirit, and power, and practice that they were in, in the apostles' time. The Jesuit to whom the question was put, said he would not answer it. G. Fox asked him, why? but he would give no reason. His companion then said, they were not degenerated from the church in the primitive times. Then G. Fox asked the other, whether he was of the same mind; and he said, 'Yes.' G. Fox, to give no room to any excuses of a mistake, repeated his question thus: 'Whether the church of Rome now was in the same purity, practice, power, and spirit, that the church in the apostles' time was in. The Jesuits seeing how exact G. Fox would be with them, said it was presumption in any

to say, they had the same power and spirit, which the apostles had. But G. Fox told them, it was presumption in them to meddle with the words of Christ and his apostles, and make people believe they succeeded the apostles, and yet be forced to confess, they were not in the same power and spirit that the apostles were in. 'This,' said he, 'is a spirit of presumption, and rebuked by the apostles' spirit.' Thereupon he showed them how different their fruits and practices were, from the fruits and practices of the apostles. This so displeased the Jesuits, that one of them said, 'Ye are a company of dreamers.' 'Nay,' said G. Fox, 'ye are the dreamers, who dream ye are the apostles' successors, and yet confess, ye have not the same power and spirit, which the apostles were in.' Then he began to tell them also, how they were led by an evil spirit; and that this spirit had induced them to pray by beads, and to images, and to put people to death for religion. He spoke yet more; but the Jesuits soon grew weary of this discourse, and went away, giving charge afterwards to those of their persuasion, not to dispute with the Quakers, nor to read any of their books.

Sometime after G. Fox went to Colchester, where he had very large meetings. From thence he went to Coggeshall; not far from which, there was a priest convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by him and his friends; and he had a meeting in his house. And after having visited his friends in their meetings thereabouts, he returned to London, where he found more work: for John Perrot, of whom mention hath been made already that he was at Rome, had so far complied with his vain imaginations, that he thought himself further enlightened than G. Fox, and his friends; and from this presumption he would not approve, that when any one prayed in a meeting, others should put off their hats, calling this a formality, and a common custom of the world, which ought to be departed from. And since novelties often draw people after them, so it was in this case, insomuch that he got a pretty many adherents. But he did not stand here; for as one error proceeds from another, so he made another extravagant step, and let his beard grow; in which he was followed by some. In the meanwhile G. Fox laboured both by word and writing, to stop his progress: and though most of his friends also bore testimony against it, yet there passed several years before this strange fire was altogether extinguished: to the quenching whereof, it contributed not a little that Perrot, who now walked in an erroneous path, grew worse from time to time, even to that degree, that being come into America, he fell into manifest sensualities, and works of the flesh: for he not only wore gaudy apparel, but also a sword; and being got into some place in the government, he became a severe exactor of oaths, whereas

before he had professed that for conscience-sake he could not swear. Before I leave Perrot, I will insert here a letter wrote by him from Rome, when he was released from prison : and though I believe he was then in a better state than afterward, yet in that letter some sparks of spiritual pride may be seen, which though then under some limitation, yet in process of time so broke forth, that it caused his fall. The letter was thus :

‘ O Israel ; the host of the most high God ; his majesty hath fulfilled to me the vision of my head, having showed himself to be the Holy One, and Just : he hath lately delivered me from the prison of the city of Rome, besides the two lambs with me, whose faces, through God, are turned to you-wards : for which I beseech you in the holy spirit of meekness, to bless the name of the Lord God. Give thanks to him for his power. The God of life promote you all in the virtue of his mercy and forgiveness, and keep you in the power of his everlasting love, unto the end.

‘ JOHN.’

‘ Written to you all without the gates of Rome, the 2d day of the fourth month, 1661.

‘ Send this forward and read my life in your meetings.’

He added not his surname, in imitation (as it seems) of the apostle John. He omitted it likewise in another letter he wrote from the prison at Rome, which began thus :

‘ I John the prisoner, being in the sense of the Spirit of life with you all,’ &c.

Who were the two lambs he mentions in his letter, I cannot tell ; whether they were persons that had been imprisoned with him in the inquisition-gaol, and converted by him, as he thought ; or whether he meant John Stubs and Samuel Fisher, I know not ; it may rather be supposed that he meant Charles Bayley and Jane Stoakes, who went to Rome to procure his liberty ; but J. Stubs and S. Fisher came away long before : yet if I am not mistaken, it was about this time that these were at Rome, and they perhaps having endeavoured to obtain his liberty, departed before him towards England.

When Perrot afterwards lived in America, about the beginning of the year 1665, John Taylor wrote thus from Jamaica concerning him :

‘ One of the judges of this place told me, that he never had seen one who so severely exacted an oath from people as John Perrot did : for he saith, that if they will go to hell, he will dispatch them quickly. And another judge, that was also present, said, that Perrot had altogether renounced his faith, and aimed at nothing but his profit.’

Such a one was John Perrot, though even some wise men admired him for a time ; but he became a man of a rough behaviour. Whether he ever repented sincerely, I cannot tell. Robert Rich, who took too much part in the extravagancies of James Naylor, as hath been related, did also combine with Perrot, and became estranged from the Quakers, and in that condition he died : but he was of the number of those, of whom the apostle John said, “ They went out from us, but they were not of us.”

Now since persecution continued in England, Edward Burrough, who continually was laborious with the pen to oppose this evil, wrote also a small book, which he called, ‘ The Case of Free Liberty of Conscience in the Exercise of Faith and Religion, presented unto the King and both Houses of Parliament.’ In this treatise he showed, that to deprive honest and peaceable people of liberty of conscience in the exercise of worship to God, was unjust, an intrenching on God’s sovereignty, and an usurpation of his authority. He also recommended it to consideration, that to impose by force a religion upon men, was the way to fill the land with hypocrites. And he showed, with sound reasons, that to persecute people for the exercise of religion and their worshipping of God, must unavoidably tend to destroy trading, husbandry, and merchandize. To which he added, that such as were called heretics were punished as malefactors, whereas drunkards and other vicious persons were left unpunished ; which to inculcate with more strength, he made use of the words of Dr. Taylor, a bishop in Ireland, who said thus : ‘ Why are we so zealous against those we call heretics, and yet great friends with drunkards, and swearers, and fornicators, and intemperate and idle persons ? I am certain a drunkard is as contrary to the laws of Christianity as an heretic : and I am also sure that I know what drunkenness is ; but I am not so sure that such an opinion is heresy,’ &c.

It happened about this time in England, that some covetous persons, to engross inheritances to themselves, would call in question the marriages of those called Quakers. And it was in this year that such a cause was tried at the assizes at Nottingham ; a certain man dying, and leaving his wife with child, and an estate in copyhold lands : when the woman was delivered, one that was near of kin to her deceased husband, endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate : and the plaintiff’s counsel willing to

blacken the Quakers, so called, asserted the child to be illegitimate, because the marriage of its parents was not according to law ; and said bluntly, and very indecently, that the Quakers went together like brute beasts. After the counsel on both sides had pleaded, the judge, whose name was Archer, opened the case to the jury, and told them, that there was a marriage in Paradise, when Adam took Eve, and Eve took Adam ; and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage. And as for the Quakers, said he, he did not know their opinion ; but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, as had been said of them, but as Christians ; and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir. And the better to satisfy the jury, he related to them this case : ‘ A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and did declare before witnesses that he did take such a woman to be his wife ; and the woman declared, that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question : but all the bishops did at that time conclude it to be a lawful marriage.’ The jury having received this instruction, gave in their verdict for the child, and declared it legitimate.

It hath been mentioned before, that G. Fox being prisoner at Derby, in the year 1650, was exceedingly vexed and ill-treated by the keeper of the prison. But this man being struck with the terrors of the Lord, became such a notable convert, that in the year 1662, he wrote the following letter to G. Fox :

‘ Dear Friend,

‘ Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition, remembering that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument ; so that sometimes I am taken with admiration, that it should come by such means as it did ; that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times to think of the gaoler’s conversion by the apostles. Notwithstanding my outward losses are since that time such, that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find, that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me ; and now instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else

at present, but my kind love unto thee, and all Christian friends with thee, in haste I rest

‘Thine in Christ Jesus,

‘Thomas Sharman.’

‘Derby, the 22nd of the fourth month, 1662.’

I have heretofore made some mention of the imprisonment of Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, by the inquisition at Malta. It was about this time that they were released: for G. Fox and Gilbert Latey, having understood that the lord d'Aubigny could procure their liberty, went to him, and having informed him concerning their imprisonment, desired him to write to those in authority at Malta for their release. This he promised to do, and told them if they would come again within a month, perhaps they might hear of their discharge. They went again to him about that time, but he said he thought his letters had miscarried; yet he promised he would write again, and so he did; which had such effect that the said two women were discharged of their long imprisonment. G. Fox had now opportunity to reason with this lord (who was a Roman Catholic) about religion, and he brought him to confess, that Christ had enlightened every man that cometh into the world with his spiritual light; and that he had tasted death for every man; and that the grace of God, which brings salvation, hath appeared to all men; and that it would teach them, and bring their salvation if they did obey it. Then G. Fox asked him what the Romanists would do with all their relics and images, if they did own and believe in this light, and receive the grace to teach them, and bring their salvation? And he answered, those things were but policies to keep people in subjection.

But leaving these discourses, I will now give a clear and circumstantial relation of the imprisonment of the forementioned Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, chiefly collected from letters and papers, written by them in prison, and sent from thence to England, where they were published in print not long after their return, in the year 1662.

In the year 1658, these women having drawings in their mind to travel towards Alexandria, went in a ship from England to Leghorn in Italy; and having been thirty-one days between Plymouth and Leghorn, they at length safely landed at that city; where they found some of their countrymen and friends, and stayed there several days, dispersing many books when occasion offered. They spoke also with people of various degrees, without being molested by any. From thence they got passage in a

Dutch ship bound for Alexandria, or Scanderoon ; but the master of the ship being in company with another ship going to Malta, went also thither, though he had no business in the place : but before they came there, Catharine fell into such an anguish of mind, that she cried out, ‘ Oh ! we have a dreadful cup to drink at that place ! ’ Being come into the harbour, and standing on the deck of the ship, and looking upon the people who stood on the walls, she said in her heart, ‘ Shall ye destroy us ? If we give up to the Lord, then he is sufficient to deliver us out of your hands : but if we disobey our God, all these could not deliver us out of his hand.’ And so all fear of man was taken from them.

The next day, being the first-day of the week, they went on shore, where the English consul met them, and asked them what they came there for ; they answered what they thought convenient, and gave him some books. Then he told them there was an inquisition ; and kindly inviting them to his house, said all that he had was at their service while they were there. They accepting of this invitation, went thither, and many came to see them, whom they called to repentance, so that several became tender. About night they went on ship-board, and the next day came again into the city, and going to the governor, he told them he had a sister in the nunnery, who desired to see them. Thereupon they went to the nunnery, and talked with the nuns, and gave them books : and one of their priests, who brought them into the chapel, would have them bow to the high altar, but they refused, being grieved because of the idolatry committed there, and went to the consul’s again, where they staid some weeks. During that time, they once went into one of the places of worship in the time of worship ; and Catharine standing in the midst of the people, turned her back to the high altar, and kneeling down, she lifted up her voice in prayer to the Lord. The priest that officiated, put off his surplice, and kneeled near her till she had done. Then he reached forth his hand to them to come to him, and offered her a token, which she taking to be the mark of the beast, refused. Thereupon he put the piece into Sarah’s hand, but she gave it him again, and showed him her purse that she had to give, if any had need, and as yet was in no want. He then asked if they were Calvinists or Lutherans ? And they answered, ‘ Nay ; ’ he asked if they would go to Rome to the pope. They denying this, he asked if they were Catholics ; to which they said they were true Christians, servants of the living God. But since they had yet learned but little of the language spoken there, they expressed themselves very defectively ; what they did, was partly in words and partly by signs, as well as they could : and many that came about them were amazed : however at last they departed peaceably. Some time after they went

again to a mass-house, where the sacrament, as they call it, was administered: there were many lights, and great costliness and fineries; and being grieved because of their idolatry, they stood about three-quarters of an hour, weeping and trembling, especially Catharine: and this so struck the congregation with amazement, that some removed further from them for fear. At length they both went out, but yet under such a trembling, that they went along the street reeling and staggering, so that they became a wonder to all that saw them.

They were about three months at the house of the English consul; and he, for that reason, being under a suspicion, did not what he might have done to save them; but in some respect he delivered them up to the inquisition, though by his oath he was obliged to protect the English there. In the meanwhile he kept them in his house, and suffered them not to go abroad, though the governor had told him he might let them go about their business; 'For,' said he, 'they are honest women.' The consul might also have let them go free, before they came under the power of the black rod. Now they perceiving that something to their prejudice was in agitation, and making account already that a prison would be their lot, they signified that they suspected him, and told him that Pilate would do the Jews a service, and yet wash his hands in innocency. He being at a loss, required a sign of them, if they were the messengers of God. And they gave him to understand, that this might serve for a sign: that it would be well with them; but that it should not go off well with him.

Afterwards it happened that they were sent for by the inquisition: and that day the consul's wife brought them some victuals; but as she passed by, Catharine was smitten, as with an arrow, to the heart, and she seemed to hear a voice, saying, 'She hath obtained her purpose.' Then Catharine would not taste of the meat, but went aside, and wept exceedingly. The consul having called her, told her, the inquisition had sent for them, having received letters from Rome, but that he did hope they should be set free: which however was not true, for he knew (as they understood afterwards) there was a room prepared for them in the prison of the inquisition. Neither was it long ere there came the chancellor, the consul, and one with a black rod, who brought them before the lord inquisitor; and he asked them whether they had changed their minds; for it seems that had been required of them before. But they answered, 'No,' and that they should not change from the truth. Then he asked what new light it was they talked of; they answered it was no new light, but the same the prophets and apostles bore testimony to. Next he asked how this light came to be lost since the primitive times: they replied, it was not lost; men had it still in

them, but they did not know it, by reason that the night of apostacy had overspread the nations. Then he said, if they would change their minds, and do as they would have them, they should say so, or else they would use them as they pleased. But they, signifying that they would not change, said, 'The will of the Lord be done.' He then arose, and went away with the consul, leaving them there: and the man with the black rod, and the keeper, took and put them into an inner room in the inquisition, which had only two little holes in it for light and air. This place was so exceeding hot, that it seemed as if their intent was to stifle them, as we may see in the sequel.

Not long after they were brought before the inquisitors to be further examined, and they not only asked their names, but also the names of their husbands and parents, and what children they had, and also why they came thither? To which they answered, they were servants of the living God, come there to call them to repentance. The next day they were called again, but then examined asunder; and Sarah being asked whether she was a true Catholic, said, that she was a true Christian, worshipping God in spirit and in truth. Then they held forth a crucifix to her, and would have her swear that she should speak the truth. To which she said, she should speak the truth, but she would not swear; for Christ had commanded, "Swear not at all." The English consul who was present, endeavoured to persuade her to swear, and said that none should do her any harm. She having some books with her, they were taken from her; and they asked her, wherefore she brought those books; to which she answered, because they could not speak their language. Then they asked her, what George Fox was? She answered, 'A minister.' Further they asked, wherefore she came thither? And she replied, to do the will of God as she was moved of the Lord. The next question was, how the Lord did appear unto her: to which she answered, 'By his Spirit.' And being asked whether she did see his presence, and hear his voice, her answer was, she heard his voice and saw his presence. They then asked what he said to her? She answered, that he required of her to go over the seas to do his will. This made them ask how she knew it was the Lord who required this of her? To which she answered, that since he had signified to her, that his living presence should go along with her, she found him to perform his promise, for she did feel his living presence. After this they went away.

Two days after, the inquisitors came and called for Catharine, and offering her the crucifix, they told her, the magistrates commanded her to swear, that she should speak the truth. To which she said, that she should speak the truth, for she was a witness for God; but she should not swear, since a greater than the magistrates said, 'Swear not at all; but let your yea, be yea,

and your nay, nay ; for whatsoever is more, cometh of evil." Then said they, ' You must obey the justice ; and he commands you to swear.' She returned, ' I shall obey justice, but if I should swear, I should do an unjust thing ; for the just (Christ) said, ' Swear not at all.' Then they asked her, whether she did own that Christ that died at Jerusalem ? She answered, ' We own the same Christ and no other ; he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.' Next they asked her, what she would do at Jerusalem : she answered, she did not know that she should go thither ; but she intended to have gone to Alexandria. They asked what to do : her answer was, ' The will of God : and (said she) if the Lord opened my mouth, I should call people to repentance, and declare to them the day of the Lord, and direct their minds from darkness to light.' They asked her also, whether she did see the Lord : she answered, God was a Spirit, and he was spiritually discerned.

Now, though from the answers of these women little could be got to blame them, yet they were kept close prisoners, which seemed to grieve the English consul, for he came to them with tears in his eyes, and said he was sorry as for his own flesh ; for it seems he had received something for delivering them up, which he would willingly have given back, if thereby he could have obtained their liberty : but a slavish fear possessed him, and he never had peace while he lived. Some days after there came a magistrate, two friars, the man with the black rod, a scribe, and the keeper of the inquisition to examine them ; and they were again required to swear : but they answered as before, that Christ said, " Swear not at all ;" and that the apostle James gave the same charge. Hereupon the magistrate asked if they would speak truth : and they said, ' Yes.' He then asked whether they believed the creed ; to which they said, they did believe in God, and in Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered at Jerusalem under Pontius Pilate, and arose again from the dead the third day, and ascended to his Father, and shall come to judgment, to judge both quick and dead. He further asked, how they did believe the resurrection : and they answered, that they believed that the just and the unjust should arise, according to the Scriptures. Next he said, ' Do you believe in the saints, and pray to them ? To which the answer was, ' We believe the communion of saints, but we do not pray to them, but to God only, in the name of Jesus.' His next question was, whether they did believe in the Catholic church : and they answered, they did believe the true church of Christ, ' but the word Catholic (said they) we have not read in Scripture.' He also asked if they believed in purgatory : to which they said, ' No ; but a heaven and a hell.' Then one of the friars, who was an Englishman, said, ' we were commanded to pray for the dead ; for, those that are in heaven have no need ; and for those

that are in hell, there is no redemption ; therefore there must be a purgatory : ' and he asked if they believed the holy sacrament ; to which their answer was, they never read the word sacrament in Scripture. The friar replied, ' Where you read in your Bibles sanctification, it is sacrament in ours.' And he said, their holy sacrament was bread and wine, which they converted into the flesh and blood of Christ, by the virtue of Christ. ' Then,' said the women, ' ye work miracles, for Christ's virtue is the same as it was when he turned water into wine at the marriage in Cana.' The friar said, ' If we do not eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of God, we have no life in us.' They replied, ' The flesh and blood of Christ is spiritual, and we do feed upon it daily ; for that which is begotten of God in us, can no more live without spiritual food, than our temporal bodies can without temporal food.' Then he said, ' You never hear mass.' ' But we,' said they, ' hear the voice of Christ ; he only hath the words of eternal life ; and that is sufficient for us.' He said, ' Ye are heretics and heathens ;' to which they replied, ' They are heretics that live in sin and wickedness, and such are heathens that know not God.'

Then it was asked them who was the head of their church : they told him, ' Christ.' It was further asked what George Fox was : and they said, ' He is a minister of Christ.' And it being asked whether he sent them, their answer was, ' No : the Lord did move us to come.' Then the friar said, ' Ye are deceived, and have not the faith ; though ye had all virtues.' And they replied, ' Faith is the ground from whence virtues proceed. Hereupon it was told them, if they would take the holy sacrament they might have their liberty : or else the pope would not leave them for millions of gold ; but they should lose their souls and bodies too. To this they said, ' The Lord hath provided for our souls, and our bodies are freely given up to serve him.' Then it was asked them, if they did not believe marriage was a sacrament : and they answered, it was an ordinance of God. It was further asked if they did believe men could forgive sins : and their answer was, that none could forgive sins but God only. After some other words to and fro, the women asked, ' Wherein have we wronged you, that we should be kept prisoners all the days of our life ? Our innocent blood will be required at your hands.' The friar said, he would take their blood upon him. They replied, the time would come he should find he had enough upon him without it. Then it was told them the pope was Christ's vicar, and what he did was for the good of their souls. To which they answered, ' The Lord hath not committed the charge of our souls to the pope, or to you neither ; for he hath taken them into his own possession : glory be to his name for ever.' Then it was said unto them, they must be obedient. And they returned, they were obedient to the government of Christ's Spirit or light. The friar said, ' None have the

true light but the Catholics : the light that you have is the spirit of the devil.' 'Woe (said they) to him that curseth Jesus ; can the devil give power over sin and iniquity ? That would destroy his own kingdom.' 'You,' replied the friar, 'are laughed at and mocked of every one.' 'But,' said they, 'what will become of the mockers ?' 'It was no matter,' he said : 'you run about to preach, and have not the true faith.' They returned, 'The true faith is held in a pure conscience, void of offence towards God and men. Every one hath the true faith, that believeth in God, and in Jesus Christ whom he hath sent : but they that say they do believe, and do not keep his commandments, are liars, and the truth is not in them.' The friar confessed this to be true, though he was continually very troublesome to them with threats, to make them turn ; and to this end they were locked up in a room, so exceeding hot, that it was said it was impossible they could live long in it. They were also so exceedingly stung by gnats, when they lay in bed, that their faces became swollen, as if they had been sick of the small-pox, so that many began to be afraid of them ; and the friar said to Sarah, he espied an evil spirit in her face.

At another time being examined, they were asked, how many of their friends were gone forth in the ministry, and into what parts : they answering to that query what they knew, it was told them, all that came where the pope had any thing to do, should never go back again. But they said, the Lord was as sufficient for them, as he was for the children in the fiery furnace, and their trust was in God. Catharine being sickly, was asked why she looked so, whether her spirit was weak ; she answered, 'Nay ; my body is weak, because I eat no meat.' The friar hearing this, offered her a licence to eat flesh ; for it was in their Lent. But she refused this, and said, she could not eat any thing at all. And going afterwards to bed, she lay there night and day for twelve days together, fasting and sweating, for she was in much affliction, and great was her agony.

After having lain ten days, there came to her two friars, the chancellor, the man with the black rod, a physician, and the keeper. One of the friars commanded Sarah to go out of the room, and then pulled Catharine's hand out of the bed, and said, 'Is the devil so great in you, that you cannot speak ?' To which she said, 'Depart from me, thou worker of iniquity : the power of the Lord is upon me, and dost thou call him devil ?' Hereupon he took his crucifix to strike her on the mouth : and she asked him, whether it were that cross that crucified Paul to the world, and the world unto him. This ignorant monk said it was. But she denied it, and said, 'The Lord hath made me a witness for himself, against all workers of iniquity.' He then bade her be obedient and went to strike her, at which she said, 'Wilt thou

strike me ?' And he saying he would, she further said, 'Thou art out of the apostle's doctrine, for they were no strikers. I deny thee to be any of them who went in the name of the Lord.' To which he said, he had brought her a physician in charity : and she returned, 'The Lord is my physician, and my saving health.' The monk growing angry, said she should be whipped and quartered, and burnt that night at Malta, and her mate too. But she told him modestly, she did not fear ; the Lord was on her side ; and he had no power but what he had received ; and if he did not use it to the same end the Lord gave it to him, the Lord would judge him. At these words they were all struck dumb, and went away. Then the friar went to Sarah, and told her that Catharine called him worker of iniquity. 'Did she ?' said Sarah, 'art thou without sin ?' To which he said he was. 'Then,' replied Sarah, 'she hath wronged thee.'

Late in the evening, something was proclaimed at the prison gate, by beating of a drum, and early in the morning some came again with a drum and guns. It seems to me that this was done on purpose to frighten these poor women, and to make them believe that they should be put to death ; for indeed they looked for little less, having for several weeks expected that they should be led to the stake : but they were fully resigned, and given up to what the Lord might be pleased to permit. In the meanwhile Catharine continuing sickly, the friar came again with the physician. But she told him, she could not take any thing, unless she felt freedom. He then said, they must never come forth of that room while they lived : and pretending to be kind to them, he further said, 'You may thank God and me, that it is no worse ; for it was like to be worse. Thereupon they said, that if they had died, they had died as innocent as ever any servants of the Lord. He then said, it was well they were innocent ; and turning to Sarah, bade her take notice what torment Catharine should be in at the hour of death ; saying, thousands of devils would fetch her soul to hell. But Sarah told him she did not fear any such thing. He then asked Catharine, if she did not think it expedient for the elders of the church to pray over the sick. And she said, 'Yea, such as are moved of the Spirit of the Lord.' He then fell down on his knees, and did howl, and wish bitter wishes upon himself, if he had not the true faith. The physician in the meanwhile was enraged, because she did not bow to him.

Now whilst Catharine was sick, Sarah was not without great affliction ; for it grieved her to see her dear companion so ill ; and she easily foresaw, that if Catharine died, her own sufferings would be heavier. But yet she was given up to the will of the Lord, and would not in the least grudge at Catharine's eternal rest. But in time Catharine began to mend, and grow hungry ; and

eating, she was refreshed. But the room wherein they were locked was so excessively hot, that they were often fain to rise out of their bed, and lie down at the chink of the door for air to fetch breath; and this heat was the greater, because it came not only from without, but within also; which so affected them that their skin was parched, the hair fell off their heads, and they fainted often; and their afflictions were so great, that when it was day they wished for night, and when it was night, they wished for day; yea, through human weakness, they desired death, eating their bread weeping, and mingling their drink with tears. Once Catharine asked the monks, who came to her with a physician, and said it was in charity, whether they did not keep them in that hot room to kill them, and bring a physician to keep them longer alive? To this the friar said, the inquisitor would lose his head if he should take them thence; and it was better to keep them there, than to kill them. Then they wrote to the inquisitor, and laid their innocency before him; and said also, if it were their blood they thirsted after, they might take it any other way, as well as to smother them in that hot room. But this so incensed him, that he sent the friar to them, who took away their ink-horns, their Bibles being taken from them before. They asked them, why their goods were taken away: to which it was answered, 'All is ours; and your lives too, if we will.' Then they asked, how they had forfeited their lives: to which it was told them, 'For bringing books and papers.' They replied, if there were any thing in them that was not true, they might write against it. To this the monk said, they scorned to write to fools and asses, that did not know true Latin. And it was further told them, the inquisitor would have them separated, because Catharine was weak, and she should go into a cooler room; but Sarah should abide there. Then Catharine took Sarah by the arm, and said, 'The Lord hath joined us together, and woe be to them that part us. I had rather die here with my friend, than part from her.' This so struck the friar, that he went away, and came no more in five weeks, and the door of their room was not opened in all that time.

Then the monks came again to part them, but Catharine was sick, and broken out from head to foot. They thereupon sent for a doctor, and he said, they must have air, or else they must die. This was told the inquisitor, and he ordered the door to be set open six hours in a day. But ten weeks after, they were parted; which was such a grievous affliction, that they declared, death itself would not have been so hard to them. But the monks said they corrupted each other, and that being parted, they would bow and submit. But they saw themselves disappointed; for the women were stronger afterwards than before, the Lord fitting them for every condition. Before they were parted, the friars brought

them a scourge of small hempen cords, asking them if they would have it ; and saying they were used to whip themselves till the blood came. But the women said, that could not reach the devil, he sat upon the heart. Then the monks said, ‘ All the people of Malta are for you ; if ye will be Catholics, none but will like you.’ To which they returned, ‘ The Lord hath changed us into that which changeth not.’ The monks then said, ‘ All our holy women do pray for you : and ye shall be honoured of all the world, if ye will turn.’ They replied, ‘ The world lies in wickedness : and the honour and glory of the world we have denied.’ To this the monks said, ‘ Ye shall be honoured of God too ; but now ye are hated of all.’ ‘ This,’ said one of the women, ‘ is an evident token whose servants we are. The servant is not greater than his Lord.’

Once, on a first-day of the week, the friars came, and commanded them to kneel down with them to prayer. They signified they could not pray but as they were moved by the Lord. Then the friars commanded them the second time, and kneeled down by their bed-side, and prayed after this manner ; which being done, they said to the women, ‘ We have tried your spirits ; now we know what spirit ye are of.’ But they told them they could not know that, unless their minds were turned to the light of Christ in their consciences. The English friar then growing angry, showed them his crucifix, and bade them look on it. But they told him, the Lord saith, “ Thou shalt not make to thyself the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth ; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them ; but I the Lord thy God am a jealous God.” The friar seeing Sarah speak so boldly to him, called for the irons to chain her. She then bowed her head, and said to him, ‘ Not only my hands and feet, but my neck also for the testimony of Jesus.’ The friar seeming appeased, said he would do them any good he could ; for he saw what they did was not in malice. And the friars came often, and said to them, ‘ If ye would do but a little ye should be set at liberty ; but you will do nothing at all, but are against every thing.’ To which they returned, that they would do any thing that might tend to God’s glory.

While they were imprisoned here, it happened that the inquisition-house was new-built or repaired, which took up about the space of a year and a half ; and during this time some of the great ones came often to see the building, which gave opportunity to these women to speak to them, and to declare the Truth in the name of the Lord.

Now, though they were threatened by the monks for preaching the light of Christ so boldly, yet not only the magistrates, but the

lord inquisitor grew moderate towards them, and gave order they should have pens, ink, and paper to write to England. And they seemed inclined to have them set at liberty ; but the friars worked mightily against it ; and had laboured about three quarters of a year to part them, before they could bring it to pass. And when at length they had effected it, they told Catharine that they should never see one another's faces again.

In the meanwhile Catharine being sickly, had little stomach to eat, and had no mind to eat any thing but what came from Sarah to her. And having told one of the friars that she wanted somebody to wash her linen, and to prepare some warm victuals for her, he sent to Sarah to know if she would do it for her ; and she said she would. And by that means they for some weeks heard of one another every day ; and the friar said once to Catharine, ' You may free yourself of misery when you will ; you may make yourself a Catholic, and have your freedom to go where you will : ' to which she told him, ' Thus I might have a name that I did live when I was dead : thou hast Catholics enough already. Endeavour to bring some of them to the light in their consciences, that they may stand in awe and sin not.' But he was so eager, that he said he would lose one of his fingers if she and Sarah would be Catholics. Then she told him it was Babylon that was built with blood, but Sion was redeemed through judgment.

Many ways were used to draw them off ; and once they would have persuaded her to set a picture at her bed's head, for a representation : but she said, as with abhorrence, ' What do ye think I want a calf to worship ? Do ye walk by the rule of Scripture ? ' To which the friar said, ' We do ; but we have traditions too.' She replied, ' If your traditions derogate or dissent from the fundamentals of Christ's doctrine, the prophets and apostles, I deny them in the name of the Lord.' But he asserted that they did not. Then she asked what rule they had to burn those that could not join them for conscience-sake : and he returned, ' St. Paul did worse, for he gave them to the devil : ' and further said, that they did judge all damned that were not of their faith. Then she objected to him several of the superstitious rites of the church of Rome, and mentioned also the forbidding of marriage, which, said she, is a doctrine of devils, according to the saying of the apostle. The friar being put to a nonplus, told her that St. Peter was the pope of Rome, and did build an altar there, and the pope was his successor, and he could do what he would. But she refuted this with sound reason. He then boasting of the antiquity of their church, she signified that the church she was of was yet older ; ' For,' said she, ' our faith was from the beginning ; and Abel was of our church.' The friar being at a loss, and not longer able to hold out against Catharine, went to Sarah, and

talked with her at the same rate ; and she also told him, Abel was of our church : to which he said, ' Abel was a Catholic ;' and quite overshooting himself, he said likewise, ' And Cain and Judas were so.' To which Sarah returned, ' Then the devil was a Catholic ; and I will not be one : I will not turn ; though ye would tear me to pieces, I believe the Lord would enable me to endure it.'

At another time the said friar, whose name was Malachy, came again to Catharine, and told her if she would be a Catholic, she should say so ; otherwise they would use her badly, and she should never see the face of Sarah again, but should die by herself, and a thousand devils should carry her soul to hell. She then asked him if he were the messenger of God to her : and he said, ' Yes.' ' Why, what is my sin,' said she, ' or wherein have I provoked the Lord, that he doth send me such a message ?' ' It is,' returned the monk, ' because you will not be a Catholic.' Whereupon she said, ' I deny thee and the message too, and the spirit which speaks in thee ; for the Lord never spoke so.' He growing angry, said that he would lay her in a whole pile of chains, where she should see neither sun nor moon. She intimating how resigned she was, said he could not separate her from the love of God in Christ Jesus, lay her wherever he would. And he further saying he would give her to the devil, she resumed, ' I do not fear all the devils in hell ; the Lord is my keeper. Though thou hadst the inquisition, with all the countries round about it on thy side, and I was alone by myself, I do not fear them ; if they were thousands more, the Lord is on my right hand ; and the worst they can do, is but to kill the body, they can touch my life no more than the devil could Job's. Then the monk said, she should never go out of that room alive. To which she courageously said, ' The Lord is sufficient to deliver me : but whether he will or no, I will not forsake the living fountain, to drink at a broken cistern. And ye have no law to keep us here, but such a law as Ahab had for Naboth's vineyard.' The monk then cursing himself, and calling upon his gods, ran away ; and as he was pulling the door, he said, ' Abide there, member of the devil.' To which she said, ' The devil's members do the devil's works ; and the woes and plagues of the Lord will be upon them for it.'

He then went and told the inquisitor of it, who laughed at him ; and before he came again, Catharine was moved out of that room : when he came, he brought one of the inquisitor's men with him, and two very good hens, and said, the lord inquisitor had sent them in love to her. To which she said, she received his love, but yet she showed herself not very ready to accept them ; and signified that she was willing to pay for them, being loath to be chargeable to any, whilst she had of her own. The friar, who it seems would have had them lay down their money at his feet,

said they must not count any thing their own, for in the primitive times they sold their possessions, and laid them down at the apostles' feet. He further said, 'You shall not want any thing, though we should spend a thousand crowns. But you are proud, because you will not take the inquisitor's hens which he sent you in charity.' She then asking what kind of charity this was, since he kept her in prison; the friar said, it was for the good of their souls he kept them in prison; further adding, 'If you had not been going to preach, ye might have gone where ye would.' She returned, 'Our souls are out of the inquisitor's reach. Why should your love extend more to us than to your own family: for they commit all manner of sin, which you cannot charge us with. Why do not ye put them into the inquisition, and bid them turn?' He then said, 'You have not the true faith;' and showing her his crucifix, asked her, if she thought he did worship that: and she asked him, what then did he with it: to which he answered, it was a representation. And she replied, it did not represent Christ, for he was the express image of his Father's glory, which is light and life. 'But,' continued she, 'if thou canst put any life in any of thy images, then bring them to me. What representation had Daniel in the lion's den, or Jonah in the whale's belly? They cried unto the Lord, and he delivered them.' The friar, who could not abide to hear her speak so much against idols, said she talked like a mad woman, adding, 'I will give you to the devil.' She not fearing this, said, 'Give thy own, I am the Lord's.' He then stood up, and said, 'I will do to you as the apostles did to Ananias and Sapphira.' She then standing up also, said, 'I deny thee in the name of the Lord, the living God, thou hast no power over me.' Then away he went with the hens to Sarah, and told her that Catharine was sick, and the lord inquisitor had sent two hens, and she would be glad to eat a piece of one, if she would dress one of them presently, and the other to-morrow. Sarah, no less circumspect and cautious than Catharine, and unwilling to receive this gift before she knew what might be expedient, answered him accordingly as Catharine did. Then he carried the hens away again, saying, 'You would fain be burnt, because you would make the world believe, you love God so well as to suffer in that kind.' Catharine hearing this said, 'I do not desire to be burnt; but if the Lord should call me to it, I believe he will give me power to undergo it for his Truth; and if every hair of my head was a body, I could offer them up all for the testimony of Jesus.

The friar coming afterwards, again asked Catharine whether she had not been inspired of the Holy Ghost to be a Catholic, since she came into the inquisition: she said, 'No:' but he maintaining the contrary, said, 'You are those who call the Spirit of the Holy Ghost the Spirit of the devil.' 'No:' replied they, (who though they were parted could hear one another,) 'the Spirit of

the Holy Ghost in us will resist the devil ; and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost is not wrought in the will of man, nor in man's time ; but in God's will and time.' More discourse they had about this matter, and then asking for their Bibles, which had been taken from them, he said, they should never see them again, for they were false.

Thus they were often troubled and importuned by the friars, who generally came two at a time, though sometimes but one. One of these often lifted up his hand to strike them, but did not : for they not being moved by fear, he was put out of countenance, and would say they were good women, and he would do them any good. As indeed sometimes he did work for them, and would say it was for God's sake, and that they ought to thank him for it ; to which they replied, those that did any thing for God, did not look for a reward from man ; which once made him so angry, that he said they were the worst of all creatures, and that they should be used worse than the Turks, Armenians, and Lutherans. Whereupon one of them said, ' The pure life was ever counted the worst ; and if we suffer, we are the Lord's, and can trust him. Do what ye will with us, we do not fear any evil tidings : we are settled and grounded in truth ; and the more ye persecute us, the stronger we grow.' For this they experienced indeed, according to what they signified in their letters, though they were separated a year from each other. The friars coming once to Sarah, told her if she would she might go out of the prison, and say and do nothing. And she saying she would on that account, they said they would come next morning. But Sarah perceived their deceit, and therefore when they came, she, to avoid the snare, could not resolve to go forth, though the friars behaved themselves friendly, and told her that the inquisitor had said, if they wanted linen, woollen, stockings, shoes, or money, they should have it.

Once it happened that an Englishman who lived there, having heard that Sarah was in a room with a window next the street, got up by the wall, and spoke a few words to her ; but he was violently haled down, and cast into prison upon life and death ; for he was one they had taken from the Turks, and made a Papist of him. The friars coming to them to know whether he had brought them any letters, they said ' No.' Neither had Catharine seen him ; yet it was told them he was like to be hanged. Of this Sarah gave information to Catharine, by writing a few lines to her, (for it seems they then could not hear one another,) and she told her, she thought the English friars were the chief actors of this business. This grieved Catharine, and she wrote to Sarah again (for they had a private way to send to each other.) In this letter, after her salutation, she said to Sarah, that she might be sure the friars were the chief actors ; but that she believed the

Lord would preserve that poor Englishman for his love, and that she was made to seek the Lord for him with tears; and that she desired her to send him something once a day, if the keeper would carry it; that she herself was ravished with the love of God to her soul, and her beloved was the chiefest of ten thousands; and that she did not fear the face of any man, though she felt their arrows: moreover that she had a prospect of their safe return into England. And in the conclusion, she bade Sarah take heed, if she was tempted with money. But this letter (by what means they never knew) came to the English friar's hands, who translating it into Italian, delivered it to the lord inquisitor; and afterwards came with the inquisitor's deputy to Catharine, and showed her both the papers, and asked her if she could read it: viz. the English one: 'Yea,' said she, 'I wrote it.' 'O, did you indeed?' said he. 'And what is it you say of me here?' 'Nothing but what is true,' replied she. Then he said, 'Where is the paper Sarah sent? Give it, or else I will search your trunk, and every where else.' She then bidding him search where he would, he said, she must tell him who it was that brought her ink, or else she should be tied with chains presently. And she returned, she had done nothing but what was just and right in the sight of God; and what she did suffer on that account would be for truth's sake. And she would not meddle with the poor workmen. Then he said, 'For God's sake tell me what Sarah did write.' And she told him something, and said, what she spoke was truth. 'But,' returned he, 'you say it is much we do not tempt you with money.' And this indeed happened afterwards. The deputy then took Catharine's ink, and threw it away; and so they went also; and the poor Englishman was released the next morning. They now coming to Sarah, told her that Catharine honestly had confessed all, and that she had best to confess too: and they threatened her with a halter, and that they would take away her bed and trunk, and her money too: to which Sarah said, it may be she might not send to Catharine any more: and she asked the deputy, whether he was a minister of Christ, or a magistrate: if he were a magistrate, said she, he might take her money, but she would not give it him. He then growing angry, said she was possessed; to which she replied, if so, then it was with the power of an endless life.

Thus from time to time they suffered many assaults; and sometimes it so happened that those who came to see them, were struck to the heart, which offended the friars. Now at length their money was almost gone, they having sometimes employed it for victuals. But the friars told them they might have kept their money for other services; for they should have maintained them whilst they kept them prisoners. To this they said they could not keep their money, and be chargeable to others. Then it

so fell out that their stomachs were taken away, and they did eat but little for three or four weeks, till at length they found themselves obliged to fasting for several days together: which made the friars say, that it was impossible that people could live with so little meat as they did. And it was told them the lord inquisitor had said, they might have any thing they would. To which they signifying that it was not in their own will they fasted, said they must wait to know the mind of the Lord, what he would have them to do. They continued weak, especially Sarah, who apprehending her death near, did therefore dress her head as she would lie in the grave. They both were so feeble that they could not put on their clothes, neither put them off, being also unable to make their beds. And though they desired to be together in one room, yet the friars would not permit it. In this condition they concluded they were like to die; but heaven had provided otherwise.

Catharine about that time, being exercised in supplication to the Lord, that it might please him to put an end to their trial, which way it seemed good in his sight, thought she heard a voice saying, 'Ye shall not die:' and she took this to be a heavenly voice: and from that time they felt themselves refreshed with the living presence of the Lord, to their great joy and comfort, so that they felt freedom to eat again: and then they were provided with good victuals; but yet they were under a fear of eating any thing which in some respect might be counted unclean; and therefore they cried unto the Lord, and said, 'We had rather die than eat any thing that is polluted and unclean.' And Catharine believed it was said to her from the Lord, 'Thou mayest as freely eat, as if thou hadst wrought for it with thy hands.' And Sarah, who sometimes had wrought for others in the inquisition house, was persuaded that it was told her by inspiration, 'Thou shalt eat the fruit of thy hands, and be blessed.' And so they did eat, and for eight or ten days, they got whatever they did call for. But afterwards they were so straitened for want of food, that it did them more hurt than their fast. Yet they being preserved alive, the friars said, 'The Lord keeps them alive by his mighty power, because they should be Catholics.' To which they returned, it should be known one day the Lord had another end in it. But the friars told them plainly, there was no redemption for them. Whereupon they said, With the Lord there was mercy and plenteous redemption: and they bade them 'take heed ye be not found fighters against God.' To which the friars returned, 'Ye are foolish women.' 'Then we are,' replied they, 'the Lord's fools; and they are dear and precious in his sight.' The friars then showing their shaven crowns, said that they were the Lord's fools; and, pointing to their gowns, said they did wear them for God's sake, to be

laughed at by the world. One of the friars about this time did what he could to send Catharine to Rome; and not succeeding, he said they should both go. But this not taking effect, the friar was sent thither with a paper to the pope, containing matter of charge against Catharine; but she speaking zealously to the scribe, pronounced woe against it, and defied it in the name of the Lord. Before the friar departed, he told Sarah that Catharine was a witch, and that she knew what was done elsewhere. He said this, because once telling Catharine abundance of lies, she told him she had a witness for God in her, which was faithful and true; and she believed this witness.

After he was gone, the English consul came to her with a dollar from a master of a ship, who came from Plymouth. She told him she did receive her countryman's love, but could not receive his money. He then asked her what she would do if she would take no money; to which she answered, 'The Lord is my portion, and thus I cannot want any good thing. We were in thy house near fifteen weeks, didst thou see any cause of death or bonds in us?' And he saying no, she signified to him, that in some respect he had been accessory to their imprisonment, and had not been ignorant of the intent: 'Thou knewest,' said she, 'that a room was provided for us in the inquisition; and had not we been kept alive by the mighty power of God, we might have been dead long since.' Endeavouring to excuse himself, he said, 'How could I help it?' Then she put him in mind of what happened at his house, when they were there, and how they called them to repentance, and forewarned them. To which he said, 'However it be, it will go well with you.' Then she told him how he required a sign of her, when they were at his house, if they were the servants of the Lord God: and she asked him, whether that was not true they spoke to him: 'Thou art a condemned person, and standest guilty before God; yet nevertheless repent, if thou canst find a place.' While she thus spoke to him, his lips quivered, and he trembled, so that he could scarce stand upon his legs: and though otherwise a very handsome man, and in his prime, yet he now looked as one that was pining away; and this was a sufficient sign for the whole city, if they had duly taken notice of it. Catharine having refused the piece of money, he went to Sarah with it: but she likewise told him she could not take it; but if he had a letter for them, she should be free to receive it. He saying he had not any, asked her what she did want; and she answered, the Lord was her shepherd, she could not want any good thing; but she did long for her freedom. He, not willing to discourage her, said, 'That you may have in time.' But he did not live to see it, for the next time they heard of him he was dead.

Whilst the friar was gone to Rome, it was told them they were

also to be sent thither; and there was indeed great working about it; but it seems they could not agree in the matter. In the meanwhile Catharine and Sarah remained separated, and there were five doors between them with locks and bolts; and yet Sarah sometimes found an opportunity either by the carelessness of the keeper, or that it was done on purpose, to come where she could see Catharine; and how much soever the friars did watch them, yet she came to Catharine's door by night. But being once discovered, she was locked up again; yet not long after the doors were again open, so that they sat in sight of each other.

Sometimes there were of divers nations brought prisoners into the inquisition; and the friars, and other great men, endeavoured in their way, to make Christians of them. Then these women would often show them the errors of popery, and declare the truth, for which they were willing to suffer death, if required: but this was taken very ill. At length it happened that two Englishmen came into the city, and tried to obtain their liberty, but in vain. Yet a little while after, the magistrates sent for and asked them whether they were sick; or, whether they did want any thing: saying they might write to England, ordering the scribe to give them ink and paper.

Not long after came one Francis Steward, a captain of a ship, and a friar of Ireland, who both took great pains to get them released; and their friends in England had not been wanting in any thing that might procure their liberty. But the time for it was not yet come. The said captain, and the new English consul, endeavoured much to procure their liberty; but it was not in the magistrates' power, for the inquisitor said, he could not set them free without an order from the pope. Yet Catharine and Sarah were brought into the court-chamber, and the English consul asked them if they were willing to go back to England: and they said, yes, if it were the will of God they might. The captain of the ship, who also was there, spoke to them with tears in his eyes, and told them what he had done in their behalf, but in vain. 'It is the inquisitor,' said he, 'who will not let you go free: you have preached among these people.' To which they said, that they had witnessed the truth, which they were willing to maintain with their blood. He replied, if they could be set free, he would freely give them their passage, and provide for them. And they returned, his love was as well accepted of the Lord, as if he did carry them. He also offered them money, but they refused to take any. They then gave him a relation of their imprisonment and sufferings, and said they could not change their minds, though they were to be burnt to ashes, or chopped in small pieces. The friar then drawing near, said they did not work: but this was not true, for they had work of their own, and

did work as they were able. They also told him, their work and business was in England. He confessing this was true, said they had suffered long enough, and too long, and that they should have their freedom within a short time, but that there wanted an order from the pope. In the meanwhile it grieved the captain that he could not obtain their liberty ; and going away he prayed God to comfort them ; and they besought the Lord to bless and preserve him unto everlasting life, and never to let him, nor his, go without a blessing from Him, for his love. For he ventured himself exceedingly in that place, by labouring to get their freedom.

After he was gone, they met with worse usage, and the inquisitor coming, looked upon them with indignation ; for the taking away of their lives was again on foot, and their doors were shut up for many weeks. After some time the inquisitor came again into the tower where they sat ; and Sarah called to him, and desired the door might be opened for them to go down into the court to wash their clothes. He then ordered the door to be opened once a week ; and not long after it was open every day. And since it had been said, that they could not be released without the pope's leave, Sarah said to him, ' If we are the pope's prisoners, we appeal to the pope : send us therefore to him.' But those that had their abode in the inquisition, especially the friars, were their mortal enemies, although they would sometimes have fed them with the best of their victuals, and given them whole bottles of wine, if they would have received it ; and it troubled them exceedingly, that they refused to eat and drink with them ; which they did, because they looked upon them as their fierce persecutors.

Once there came two or three English ships into the harbour, and the English consul telling them of it, said, that he did what he could for them, but that they would not let them go, unless they would turn Catholics, and that therefore they must suffer more imprisonment yet. Before Sarah knew these ships were come thither, she saw them in the night in a dream, and heard a voice saying that they could not go yet. When the ships were gone, they were sent for, and it was asked them if they would be Catholics ; to which they answered, they were true Christians, and had received the Spirit of Christ. One of the magistrates showing them the cross, they told him, they did take up the cross of Christ daily, which was the power of God to crucify sin and iniquity. Knowing that there was a friar, who, as the captain had told them, took a great deal of pains for them, but not seeing him there, (for he secretly favouring them, was now absent,) they said to those that were present, ' One of your fathers hath promised us our liberty.' But this availed nothing. Yet they acknowledged his kindness, and told him afterwards, he would never

have cause to repent it. A friar once coming to them, said, 'It is God's will ye should be kept here, or else we could not keep you.' On which Catharine told him, 'The Lord suffers wicked men to do wickedness, but he doth not will them to do it; he suffered Herod to take off John the Baptist's head, but he did not will him to do it: he suffered Stephen to be stoned, and Judas to betray Christ; but he did not will them to do so; for if he had, he would not have condemned them for it.' The friar hereupon asking, 'Are we then wicked men?' She answered, 'They are wicked men that work wickedness.' 'But,' said he, 'you have not the true faith.' To which she answered, 'By faith we stand, and by the power of God we are upheld. Dost thou think it is by our own power and holiness we are kept from a vain conversation, from sin and wickedness?' He then saying that was their pride, she told him, 'We can glory in the Lord, we were children of wrath once as well as others; but the Lord hath quickened us that were dead, by the living word of his grace, and hath washed, cleansed, and sanctified us in soul and spirit, in part, according to our measures; and we do press forward towards that which is perfect.' He then said, 'Ye are good women; but yet there is no redemption for you, except ye will be Catholics.' This was the old lesson of the friars, who, at another time, said, 'Ye may be Catholics, and keep your own religion too, and ye shall not be known to be Catholics, except ye were brought before a justice.' To which they returned, 'What, should we profess a Christ we should be ashamed of?'

Some of those that came to see them would pity them for not turning Catholics; but others showed their hatred, by crying that they must be burnt, and by bawling, 'Fuoco, fuoco,' (fire, fire). Whilst they were separated from each other, Catharine was often much concerned for Sarah, and afraid that she should be ensnared; for one of the friars many times accosted her with fawning words: but they both continued steadfast, and were often ravished by the inward joy and consolation they felt. Catharine in one of her letters said, that the spirit of prayer was once upon her, but that she was afraid to speak to the Lord, for fear she should speak one word that would not please him. And then it was returned from the Lord, 'Fear not, daughter of Sion; ask what thou wilt, and I will grant it thee, whatsoever thy heart can wish.' But she desired nothing of the Lord, but what would make for his glory, whether it were her liberty, or bondage, life or death. And in this resignedness she found herself accepted of the Lord.

Sometimes they spoke so effectually to those that came to them, that they could not gainsay them, but were made to confess that God was with them; though others would make a hideous noise, and cry, 'Jesu Maria,' and run away, as people

that were struck with fear. Catharine's prison being so near the street, that she could be heard of those that went by, she was moved sometimes to call them to repentance, and to turn to the light wherewith they were enlightened, which would lead them out of all their wicked ways and works, to serve the true and living God in spirit and in truth. This so reached some, that they did sigh and groan, and stay to hear her; but not long, it being forbidden upon great pain. Yet some that passed by to their worship-houses, were so wicked, that they threw stones at her window, and often made a sad noise, and howled like dogs.

Thus they were assaulted both from abroad, and within doors from the friars, who fiercely threatened them for their bold testimony against idolatry. Once when they showed Sarah the Virgin Mary and her babe pictured against a wall, and would have her look upon it, she, to show her zeal against idol-worship, stamped with her foot, and said, 'Cursed are all images, and image makers, and those that fall down to worship them.'

It happened that some French and Spanish ships came to join with the cavaliers of Malta, to fight against the Turks: Sarah hearing this, said, 'God is angry, God is angry; go not forth to kill one another; Christ came not to destroy life, but to save it.' This she told many who were persuaded of obtaining a victory; but it fell out otherwise, for their fleet was beaten by the Turks, and they returned with great damage.

A friar coming once to Catharine, asked her why she did not work; which made her say to him, 'What work dost thou do?' He answered, 'I write.' To which she returned, 'I will write too, if thou wilt bring me pen, ink, and paper.' He not willing she should write, said, 'St. Paul did work at Rome; and by knitting she might get about three-halfpence a day.' She told him, 'If we could have that privilege among you, which Paul had at Rome under Cæsar, who was a heathen prince, we would have wrought, and not have been chargeable to any; for he lived in his own hired house two years, preaching the gospel and doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ.' She asked him also, whether he knew the holy war of God? 'And if thou knowest it,' said she, 'then thou canst not but know that we cannot be without exercise day or night.' This stopped his mouth; besides, it was well known, that they spent not their time idly; for they knit stockings for those that were serviceable to them; they made garments for the poor prisoners, and mended their clothes; though they were not willing to work for the friars, who sometimes coming to her, kneeled down, and would have Catharine to say after them the words they spoke. But this she refused to do, though it made these men grow more angry. Such and the like occurrences so grieved her, that once in anguish of spirit she cried out to God, 'It were better for me to die than to live thus.' For being

almost continually constrained to testify against idolatry and superstition, she would have been willing to have laid down her life for a testimony against it, if it had been required of her. And when once the friars told her that Sarah was to be carried to Rome, whilst she should stay at Malta, it so grieved her, that with supplication, she asked the Lord if he did not count her worthy to go to Rome also, and to offer up her life there, for the testimony of Jesus: because, if she was at liberty to choose, she would rather do so, than return without her to England.

At another time, when it was told them that their Bibles were false, Catharine asked the friar that said so, wherein are they false? He replied, because the books of the Maccabees were not in them. To which she answered, that though something might be wanting, yet the rest might be good for all that: but if something were added, then the Bible was corrupted. This struck at some additions she had seen in the Bibles there. Then he asked her whether she did not think that every one must bow at the name of Jesus; and she answering, 'Yea,' he said, 'Jesus,' and bade her to kneel down, or to bow herself. To which she said, that her heart and whole body was bowed down under the name of Jesus; but that she would not bow at the will of him, or any body else. 'He that departs from iniquity (thus she continued) bows before the name of Jesus; but they that live in sin and wickedness, do not bow before the Son of God.' Then he said, that he and his companions stood in the same power, and were led by the same Spirit as the apostles. Which made her ask, why then they abused that power, and used carnal weapons? He answered, they did not do so, for their inquisition, nay, even their chains and fetters were spiritual. Then he asked her, whether she did not think all those damned that were not of her persuasion; she said, 'No, Christ hath not taught us so; for those that are to-day in a state of reprobation, the Lord, if it please him, can call to-morrow out of it.' 'He then said, 'We think you damned, and all those that are not of our belief.' To which she returned, 'The judgment of man doth not hurt us.'

Sometimes some came to the prison upon their saints' days, and asked them what day it was: and they not being acquainted with those saints, would answer, 'We do not know it.' When the others then told them, that it was such or such a saint's day, and that this saint would punish them that night, because they would not observe his day; they answered, that they knew the saints to be at peace with them, and that therefore they did not fear them.' Another time a friar came and told them, it was seventeen days to Christmas, and that the Virgin Mary conceived that present day. On which Catharine made this remark, that indeed this was very singular, that she did go with child but

seventeen days. Such like occurrences grieved her exceedingly, when she considered the gross darkness these people were in: and as she was crying to the Lord in prayer, that it seemed that all their travail and labour was fruitless, she felt this answer: 'Be not grieved, though Israel be not gathered, the seed of Malta is to increase into multitude; that which ye have sown shall not die, but live.'

After Catharine and Sarah had been imprisoned at Malta about three years, there came one Daniel Baker, who did whatever he could, and went also to the inquisitor, to obtain their liberty, but in vain; for he required that some English merchants at Leghorn, or at Messina, should engage for four thousand dollars, that they, being released, should never return into those parts. But they were unwilling to enter into those terms, as not knowing what the Lord one time or other might require of them. Daniel, seeing he could not obtain their deliverance this way, offered himself to be imprisoned instead of them; and this not being accepted, he went yet further, and signified, that he was willing to lay down his life for their liberty, if it was not to be purchased otherwise. Great love indeed! of which but few instances are to be found. And they hearing of this, were touched with exceeding great admiration. In the meanwhile, he found a way to get some letters delivered to them, and wrote also himself, both to comfort and exhort them to steadfastness. At length he found means also to speak to them: for on a time, as they stood at the prison gates, he being come in their sight, saluted them in these words: 'The whole body of God's elect, right dearly beloved, own your testimony, and ye are a sweet savour unto the Lord and his people.' To which one of them answered, that it was a trouble to them that they could not be more serviceable. This made his heart melt with pity and compassion, considering the wonderful mercy of the Lord in preserving them without fainting in that sharp trial: and they beholding one another at a distance through the iron grates, were mutually refreshed at that season. They afterwards wrote to him, and signified with the most tender expressions, how highly they valued his great love; and also sent him letters for their friends and relations in England; and he neglected not to write back again to them during his stay, which was in the forepart of the year 1662. But he was forced to leave them prisoners there: yet the time of their redemption drew nigh, which was brought about at the instance of George Fox and Gilbert Latey, by writing to the lord Aubigny, as hath been said already.

Some time before Daniel Baker came to Malta, it had been told them, that if they would turn Catholics, they might dwell at Malta. To which their answer was, that they were true Catholics. One of the magistrates said, that if they would not

turn Catholics, they must yet suffer long imprisonment by the pope's order: and yet it was not true that there was such an order. It was also told them, if they would kiss the cross, they should be released; and they might stay at the house of the English consul, until an opportunity offered to carry them to England. In the meanwhile they heard that the pope had given order to let them pass to England without doing them any hurt. But however it was, they were preserved well contented, and they said resolutely, that they would not kiss the cross, nor purchase their liberty at that rate. It seems the consul aimed at some advantage by their releasement; for he told them that the inquisitor had said, if any one would engage for three or four thousand dollars to be paid if ever they came thither again, they should be set at liberty. This he said also to D. Baker, and added, that if none would engage, they must die in prison, and that this was the pope's order. After Baker's departure, word was sent to some English merchants, concerning such an engagement; but none appeared willing to enter into it; and the prisoners were so far from desiring, that they spoke against it. Yet there were many that sought to obtain their liberty, showing themselves willing to engage for what was reasonable; but all their endeavours were in vain.

Once they fasted three days, and though it was a cold season, they sat upon the ground, with very little clothes, without stockings or shoes, having nothing upon their heads but ashes. The inquisitors seeing it, wondered exceedingly; and Sarah began to speak zealously against superstition and idolatry. And when the time of their fast was expired, Catharine composed the following

HYMN TO GOD.

ALL praise to him that hath not put
Nor cast me out of mind,
Nor yet his mercy from me shut,
As I could ever find.

Infinite glory, laud, and praise
Be given to his name,
Who hath made known in these our days
His strength and noble fame.

Oh none is like unto the Lamb!
Whose beauty shineth bright,
O glorify his holy name,
His majesty and might.

My soul praise thou the only God,
A fountain pure and clear,
Whose crystal streams spread all abroad,
And cleanseth far and near.

The well-springs of eternity,
Which are so pure and sweet,
And do arise continually,
My bridegroom for to meet.

My sweet and dear beloved one,
Whose voice is more to me
Than all the glory of the earth,
Or treasures I can see.

He is the glory of my life,
My joy and my delight,
Within the bosom of his love
He clos'd me day and night.

He doth preserve me clean and pure
Within his pavill'on,
Where I with him should be secure,
And saved from all wrong.

My soul praise thou the Lord, I say,
Praise him with joy and peace ;
My sp'rit and mind both night and day,
Praise him and never cease.

O magnify his majesty,
His fame and his renown,
Whose dwelling is in Sion high
The glory of his crown.

O praises, praises to our God,
Sing praises to our King ;
O teach the people all abroad,
His praises for to sing.

A Sion song of glory bright,
That doth shine out so clear ;
O manifest it in the sight
Of nations far and near ;

That God may have his glory due,
His honour and his fame,
And all his saints may sing anew
The praises of his name.

After Catharine had joyfully sung thus, she went to the well in the court, and drank much water in the sight of the prisoners, as did Sarah also ; for they were very dry, and Sarah washing her head also in cold water, they cried out in their language, ‘ Ye will kill yourselves, and go to the devil.’ But this they did not fear, neither caught they any cold, and so became a wonder to others.

About half a year after Daniel Baker was gone, it came into Catharine’s heart, that if she could speak with the inquisitor, he would grant them their liberty. And it was not long after that he came to the inquisition court-chamber, which they hearing, desired to speak with him, which was granted, and being admitted into his presence, they told him they had not wronged or defrauded any, but had suffered innocently almost four years for conscience-sake, &c. After this the inquisitor was very courteous to them, and promised their liberty in a few days, saying he would send for the consul, and get him to engage for five hundred dollars to be paid for them if ever they came again. And in case the consul denied this, he would send to Rome to the pope, to set them at liberty without any obligation.

Not many days after, the inquisitor came with his lieutenant, the chancellor, and others, and after some discourse, asked them whether they would return back again to their husbands and children, if it were the will of God: to which they answered, it was their intent in the will of God so to do. Hereupon they were released, and the inquisitor took his leave very courteously of them, and wished them a prosperous return into their own country ; so likewise did the magistrates, and the inferior officers, not requiring one pennyworth for fees or attendance ; yet in their own freedom they gave something to the keeper, and some poor men.

Being thus set at liberty, they kneeled down, and prayed God never to lay to their charge what they did unto them, because they knew them not. And then they were delivered into the consul’s hands, who told them that he had engaged for them to get them free : but they could never find that it was true. Now they were kept eleven weeks at the consul’s house, before they could get a passage from thence. Catharine in the meanwhile, being under a great concern, because of a judgment that was impending over the city, wrote a paper to the rulers of Malta, in which she said, that on the 25th of the month called August, it came upon her from the Lord to write thus to them in his name, ‘ My wrath is kindled against you, and my judgment is set up amongst you, because

of your hard-heartedness and unbelief. I the Lord, who desire the death of no man, but that all should return unto me and live, have cast my servants amongst you, contrary to their will, and without their knowledge, to go and forewarn you of the evil that was coming upon you. For all the wicked shall be brought to judgment. I will establish my beloved Son upon his throne, and he shall rule in his princely power, and reign in his kingly majesty, whose right it is over all; and his own spiritual government shall he set up in all places, righteous rule and pure worship in Spirit and in Truth. There is nothing that can prevent the Lord, who saith, If ye will not hear my servant, which speaketh my word, whom ye proved almost these four years, whose life hath been harmless and spotless, in pure innocency amongst you, then will I bring woe upon woe, and judgment upon judgment upon you, till the living shall not be able to bury the dead. My mouth hath spoken it, and my zeal will perform it; and every man's hand shall be upon his loins for pain; for the day of recompence is come. But if you will hear my servant which speaketh in my name, and return in your minds to the light in your consciences, which convinceth of all evil, and deny all evil thoughts, words, and actions, then will I pour out my Spirit upon you, and will soon cure you of your diseases, and heal you of your pain.'

This, and more she wrote, and delivered to the consul to give it to the grand master, and the rest of the governors; but the consul not being pleased with it, threatened her with imprisonment again. What further became of the paper I do not find, but this, that on the eighth of October there was great thunder and lightning, which set on fire and blew up one of the powder-houses about a mile out of the city, and another powder-house was thrown down; and in the city five houses were overthrown, most of the glass windows of the palaces and other houses broke, the doors lifted off their hooks, the walls torn, and the whole city terribly shaken, so that being at midnight, a cry went through the whole city, and the bells were rung. At the bed's feet where Catharine and Sarah lay, was a glass window, which also was broken, but they received no hurt, though the house was so shaken that they did exceedingly fear and quake; but being given up unto the Lord to live and die, their fear was soon taken from them, and turned into joy in the Lord. When it was day the consul came to them, and they being still and quiet, he asked whether they were not dead: and while he was speaking others came in, telling what was done in the city; and he told them that even the ships in the harbour had suffered damage. Then they said, 'One woe is past, and behold another woe cometh quickly, if ye do not repent.'

Some days after, Sarah fasted, sitting upon the ground with ashes upon her head, her neck and shoulders bare; and she spoke

to the consul to desire the grand master to proclaim a fast, and to make the people to meet together to wait upon the Lord, with their minds turned to him, that so he might turn away his judgments from them; for the hour of his judgments was come, wherein the painted harlot should be stripped naked, and receive a cup of trembling from the hand of the Lord. The consul performed this message to the magistrates, and the friars said the woman had a good intent. Some time after the inquisitor came, and talking with them, said, 'Your intent is good, but the devil hath deceived you.' And they asked him whether the devil could give power over sin: to which he said, the devil could transform himself into an angel of light. This they assented to, but yet said he could not hide himself from the children of light; though they that were in the dark could not discern him. He could not abide to hear this, but went away, and the consul, who was present, wrought against them to get them into bondage again, but in vain. Many now died in the town of a violent fever: whether any other disaster followed upon their prediction, I cannot tell.

At length there came one of the king of England's frigates, called the Sapphire, commanded by captain Samuel Titswel, who took them in, together with some knights of Malta; among them was the inquisitor's brother, who often spoke to the captain, that they might not want any thing that was in the ship, and he told them, if they came to Malta again, they should not be persecuted so. And to the captain he said, 'If they go to heaven one way, and we another, yet we shall all meet together at last.' But they told him that Christ Jesus, the Light of the World, was the only way to the Father.

Departing from Malta, after some time they came to Leghorn, where the merchants showed them great kindness, and sent wine and other things for their refreshment, proffering them also money; but they were unwilling to accept it. From thence they came to Tangier, which the king of England had in marriage with the daughter of the king of Portugal. This place was at that time besieged by the Moors, yet Catharine and Sarah entered the town, and many came flocking into the house where they were lodged, for they boldly exhorted the people to depart from wickedness. They also went to the governor, who was courteous to them, and took their admonition in good part, and promised to follow their counsel. And he would have given them money, but they took none, though they accepted his love; for he commanded that none of the garrison should abuse them either in word or deed, upon pain of severe punishment: yet the Portuguese and Irish were ready enough to have done them mischief. They being inclined to go out to the Moors, desired the governor to let them go forth, but he told them they must expect from that savage people nothing but cruel death, or bonds for ever: and though

they signified to him that they believed the Lord would preserve them, since they were persuaded that he required of them to go to the Moors, yet the governor in a friendly manner withheld them from going. Being thus stopped, they believed that the Lord accepted of their good will. When they went aboard again, though in another ship, several took shipping with them, from a belief, that on their account they should have a safe passage. The captain and others that were in the ship, behaved themselves very civilly towards them; and though they met with tempests, yet at length they arrived safe in England.

Catharine afterwards related, that when (in the inquisition) she was for many days together in expectation that they should be burnt, she saw in a dream in the night, a large room, and a great wood fire in the chimney, and she beheld one sitting in the chair by the fire, in the form of a servant, whom she took to be the Eternal Son of God: likewise she saw a very amiable well-favoured man-child, sitting in a hollow chair over the fire, (not appearing to be above three quarters of a year old, and having no clothes on but a little fine linen about the upper parts,) and the fire flamed about it; yet the child played, and was merry. She would then have taken it up, for fear it should have been burnt; but he that sat in the chair bid her let it alone. Then turning about she saw an angel, and he that sat in the chair bid her take up the child, which she did, and found it had no harm; and then awaking, she told her dream to Sarah, and desired her not to fear, since the heavenly host thus followed them.

I have collected this relation of the occurrences of these women at Malta, from several papers and letters, which not long after their return home were published in print. And since no due order was observed there, and many things mentioned, which to avoid prolixity I have passed by, as not very material, I may have haply missed in some case or other, as to the order or series of time, but yet I think the matters of fact are not mutilated. Now to give the reader an idea of the frame of these women's minds, and their sufferings, I will insert some of their letters: among those which they wrote to their friends in England, was this following:

‘O dearly beloved friends, fathers, and elders, and pillars of God's spiritual house, and brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ, in the measure of love and life of our God, do we salute you all, and do embrace you in that which is eternal, and we do greatly rejoice, and glorify the name of our heavenly Father, that he hath counted us worthy to be partakers of the death and sufferings of his blessed Son with you; though we be the least of God's flock, yet we are of the true fold, whereof Christ Jesus is shepherd; and he hath had as tender a care over us, as he hath had of any of his lambs which he hath called forth in this the day

of his power, and hath carried us through and over as great afflictions as most of our brethren and sufferers for his name, both in mockings, scoffings, scornings, reproaches, stripes, contradictions, perils at land, and perils at sea, fiery trials, cruel threatenings, grief of heart, sorrow of soul, heats and colds, fastings and watchings, fears within, and fightings without; terrible temptations and persecutions, and dreadful imprisonments, and buffetings of Satan; yet in all these our trials, the Lord was very gracious unto us, and did not absent himself from us, neither suffered his faithfulness to fail us, but did bear us up, and keep us from fainting in the midst of our extremity. We had not another to make our moan to, but the Lord alone; neither could we expect a drop of mercy, favour, or refreshments, but what he did distil from his living presence, and work by his own strength; for we sat one in one room, and the other in another, near a year; as owls in deserts, and as people forsaken in solitary places. Then did we enjoy the presence of the Lord, and did behold the brightness of his glory, and we did see you, our dear friends, in the light of Jesus, and did behold your order, and steadfastness of your faith and love to all saints, and were refreshed in all the faithful-hearted, and felt the issues of love and life which did stream from the hearts of those that were wholly joined to the fountain, and were made sensible of the benefit of your prayers.

‘O the sorrows, the mournings, the tears!’ “But those that sow in tears, shall reap in joy.” A true sorrow begets a true joy; and a true cross a true crown: for when our sorrows did abound, the love of God did abound much more: the deeper the sorrows, the greater the joys: the greater the cross, the weightier the crown.

‘Dear friends and brethren, marvel not that Israel is not gathered, our judgment remains with the Lord, and so do our labours; for it was not for want of travail, nor pain, nor love to their souls; for we could have been contented to have fed upon the grass on the ground, so we might have had our freedom amongst them: for, had it not been for the great opposition, they would have followed after us, as chickens after a hen, both great and small. But oh! the swelling seas, the raging and foaming waves, stormy winds and floods, and deep waters, and high mountains and hills, hard rocks, rough ways, and crooked paths, tall cedars, strong oaks, fruitless trees, and corrupted ones, that cumber the ground, and hinder the righteous seed to be sown, and the noble plants from being planted. Oh! they shut up the kingdom against the simple-hearted, and hide the key of knowledge from the innocent ones, and will not enter into the kingdom themselves, nor suffer them that would enter, but stir up the magistrates to form carnal weapons, thinking to prevent the Lord of taking to him his inheritance, and to dispossess his Son, who is heir of all, that he might have not a dwelling-place among them, nor a hab-

tation nigh them ; because that his light will discover their darkness, and his brightness will burn up all their abominations, and mar their beauty, and stain their glory, their pomp, and their pride, that it may perish as the untimely figs, and fall as the flower of the field, and wither as the grass upon the house-top. Oh ! the belly of hell, the jaws of Satan, the whole mystery of iniquity is at the height, and all manner of abomination that makes desolate, stands where it ought not, and is upholden by a law, that upon pain of death none must speak against it, nor walk contrary to it. But praises to our God, he carried us forth to declare against it daily. Oh ! the blind guides, the seducing spirits, that do cause the people to err, and compel them to worship the beast and his image, and have his mark in their foreheads, and in their hands, and to bow to pictures and painted walls, and to worship the things of their own hands, and to fall down to that which their own fingers have fashioned, and will not suffer them to look towards Sion upon pain of death, nor to walk towards Jerusalem upon pain of faggot and fire, but must abide in Babel, and believe whatsoever they speak or do to be truth. But oh ! the ways, the worships, the fashions, forms, customs, traditions, observations, and imaginations, which they have drawn in by their dark divinations, to keep the poor people in blindness and ignorance, so that they perish for want of knowledge, and are corrupted, because the way of Truth is not made known among them ; they are all in the many ways, out of the one true living way, and their ways be so many and so monstrous, that they are unrehearsable ; but the Lord our God hath kindled a fire in the midst of them, that will consume all forms, fashions, customs, and traditions of men, and will burn up the briars, thorns, and tares, stubble, and fruitless trees, and corrupted ones ; and will blast all the fruits, works, and labours of wicked and ungodly men, with the mildews of his wrathful indignation, and will scatter all his enemies with the whirlwinds of his displeasure. They do not know the Scriptures : their Bibles would grieve any honest heart to behold them, because of the corruption.'

This letter was signed by both of them, though perhaps Catharine was the writer, who also wrote a letter of exhortation to the popish inquisitor at Malta, and another to friar Malachy. Among the letters she wrote to her husband and children, I count the following really worthy to be delivered to posterity :

' For the hands of John Evans, my right, dear and precious husband, with my tender-hearted children, who are more dear and precious to me than the apple of mine eye.

' Most dear and faithful husband, friend, and brother, begotten

of my eternal Father, of the immortal seed of the covenant of light, life, and blessedness, I have unity and fellowship with thee day and night, to my great refreshment, and continual comfort. Praises, praises be given to our God for evermore, who hath joined us together in that which neither sea nor land can separate or divide.

‘ My dear heart, my soul doth dearly salute thee, with my dear and precious children, who are dear and precious in the light of the Lord, to thy endless joy, and my everlasting comfort; glory be to our Lord God eternally, who hath called you with a holy calling, and hath caused his beauty to shine upon you in this the day of his power, wherein he is making up of his jewels, and binding up of his faithful ones in the bond of everlasting love and salvation, among whom he hath numbered you of his own free grace; in which I beseech you, dear hearts, in the fear of the Lord, to abide in your measures according to the manifestation of the revelation of the Son of God in you. Keep a diligent watch over every thought, word, and action, and let your minds be staid continually in the light, where you will find out the snares and baits of Satan, and be preserved out of his traps, nets, and pits, that you may not be captivated by him at his will. Oh, my dear husband and children, how often have I poured out my soul to the everlasting Father for you, with rivers of tears night and day, that you might be kept pure and single in the sight of our God, improving your talents as wise virgins, having oil in your vessels, and your lamps burning, and clothed with the long white robes of righteousness, ready to enter the bed-chamber, and to sup with the Lamb, and to feed at the feast of fat things, where your souls may be nourished, refreshed, comforted, and satisfied, never to hunger again.

‘ My dear hearts, you do not want teaching; you are in a land of blessedness, which floweth with milk and honey, among the faithful stewards, whose mouths are opened wide to righteousness to declare the eternal mysteries of the everlasting kingdom, of the endless joys and eternal glory; whereinto all the willing and obedient shall enter, and be blessed for ever.

‘ My dear hearts, the promises of the Lord are large, and are all Yea and Amen to those that fear his name; he will comfort the mourners in Sion, and will cause the heavy-hearted in Jerusalem to rejoice, because of the glad tidings: they that do bear the cross with patience, shall wear the crown with joy; for it is through the long suffering and patient waitings, the crown of life and immortality comes to be obtained. The Lord hath exercised my patience, and tried me to the uttermost, to his praise, and my eternal comfort, who hath not been wanting to us, in any thing in his own due time; we are witnesses he can provide a table in the wilderness, both spiritual and temporal. Oh, the endless love of our

God, who is an everlasting fountain of all living refreshment, whose crystal streams never cease running to every thirsty soul, that breatheth after the springs of life and salvation.

‘ In our deepest affliction, when I looked for every breath to be the last, I could not wish I had not come over sea, because I knew it was my eternal Father’s will to prove me, with my dear and faithful friend. In all afflictions and miseries the Lord remembered mercy, and did not leave nor forsake us, nor suffer his faithfulness to fail us; but caused the sweet drops of his mercy to distil upon us, and the brightness of his glorious countenance to shine into our hearts, and was never wanting to us in revelations or visions. Oh, how may I do to set forth the fulness of God’s love to our souls: no tongue can express it, no heart can conceive it, nor mind can comprehend it. Oh, the ravishments, the raptures, the glorious bright shining countenance of our Lord God, who is our fulness in emptiness, our strength in weakness, our health in sickness, our life in death, our joy in sorrow, our peace in disquietness, our praise in heaviness, our power in all needs or necessities; he alone is a full God unto us, and to all that can trust him. He hath emptied us of ourselves, and hath unbottomed us of ourselves, and hath wholly built us upon the sure foundation, the rock of ages, Jesus Christ, the Light of the world, where the swelling seas, nor raging foaming waves, nor stormy winds, though they beat vehemently, can be able to remove us. Glory, honour, and praise, is to our God for ever, who out of his everlasting treasures, doth fill us with his eternal riches day by day; he did nourish our souls with the choicest of his mercies, and doth feed our bodies with his good creatures, and relieve all our necessities in a full measure. Praises, praises, be to him alone, who is our everlasting portion, our confidence, and our rejoicing, whom we serve acceptably with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a consuming fire.

‘ Oh, my dear husband, and precious children, you may feel the issues of love and life, which stream forth as a river to every soul of you, from a heart that is wholly joined to the fountain. My prayers are for you day and night without ceasing; beseeching the Lord God of power to pour down his tender mercies upon you, and to keep you in his pure fear, and to increase your faith, to confirm you in all righteousness, and strengthen you in believing in the name of the Lord God Almighty, that you may be established as Mount Sion, that can never be moved. Keep your souls unspotted of the world, and love one another with a pure heart fervently; serve one another in love, build up one another in the eternal, and bear one another’s burdens for the seed’s sake, and so fulfil the law of God. This is the word of the Lord unto you, my dearly beloved.

‘ Dear hearts, I do commit you into the hands of the Almighty, who dwelleth on high, and to the word of his grace in you, who is able to build you up to everlasting life, and eternal salvation. By me, who am thy dear and precious wife, and spouse, in the marriage of the Lamb, in the bed undefiled,

‘ K. E.’

‘ My dearly beloved yoke-mate in the work of our God, doth dearly salute you. Salute us dearly to our precious friends in all places. I do believe we shall see your faces again with joy.’

This was written in the Inquisition at Malta, in the 11th month, in the year 1661.

The following letter was written by Sarah to her husband, Henry Cheevers, and children :

‘ My dear husband, my love, my life is given up to serve the living God, and to obey his pure call in the measure of the manifestation of his love, light, life, and Spirit of Christ Jesus, his only begotten Son, whom he hath manifested in me, and thousands, by the brightness of his appearing, to put an end to sin and Satan, and bring to light immortality, through the preaching of the everlasting gospel, by the spirit of prophesy, which is poured out upon the sons and daughters of the living God, according to his purpose; whereof he hath chosen me, who am the least of all : but God, who is rich in mercy, for his own name-sake, hath passed by mine offences, and hath counted me worthy to bear testimony to his holy name, before the mighty men of the earth. O the love of the Lord to my soul ! My tongue cannot express, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, to conceive of the things that God hath laid up for them that fear him.

‘ Therefore doth my soul breathe to my God for thee and my children, night and day, that your minds may be joined to the light of the Lord Jesus, to lead you out of Satan’s kingdom, into the kingdom of God, where we may enjoy one another in the life eternal, where neither sea nor land can separate ; in which light and life do I salute thee, my dear husband, with my children, wishing you to embrace God’s love, in making his truth so clearly manifest amongst you ; whereof I am a witness, even of the everlasting fountain that hath been opened by the messengers of Christ, who preach to you the word of God, in season, and out of season, directing you where you may find your Saviour, to purge and cleanse you from your sins, and to reconcile you to his Father, and

to have unity with him and all the saints, in the light, that ye may be fellow-citizens in the kingdom of glory, rest, and peace, which Christ hath purchased for them that love him, and obey him. What profit is there for to gain the whole world, and lose your own souls? Seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added to you. Godliness is great gain, having the promise of this life that now is, and that which is to come; which is fulfilled to me, who have tasted of the Lord's endless love and mercies to my soul; and from a moving of the same love and life do I breathe to thee my dear husband, with my children; my dear love salutes you all; my prayers to my God are for you all, that your minds may be joined to the light, wherewith you are lightened, that I may enjoy you in that which is eternal, and have communion with you in the spirit. He that is joined to the Lord, is one spirit, one heart, one mind, one soul; to serve the Lord with one consent. I cannot, by pen or paper, set forth the large love of God, in fulfilling his gracious promises to me in the wilderness, being put into prison for God's Truth, there to remain all the days of my life, being searched, tried, examined upon pain of death, among the enemies of God and his Truth; standing in jeopardy for my life, until the Lord had subdued and brought them under by his mighty power, and made them to feed us, and would have given us money or clothes; but the Lord did deck our table richly in the wilderness. The day of the Lord is appearing, wherein he will discover every deed of darkness, let it be done never so secretly; the light of Christ Jesus will make it manifest in every conscience; the Lord will rip up all coverings that are not of his own Spirit. The God of peace be with you all. Amen.

‘Written in the Inquisition prison by
‘Sarah Cheevers.’

Several other letters both she and Catharine wrote to their husbands, friends, and relations. But since great part of my narrative was fetched from thence, I pass them by. But by these inserted, one may see that they were not women of a dull temper, but ingenuous and cheerful.

In a letter of Sarah's to her friends in Ireland, I find these words:

‘My life is given up to the service of the Lord: bonds, chains, bolts, irons, double doors, death itself, is too little for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God: so the seed be gathered, it is but a reasonable sacrifice. Bonds and afflictions betide the gospel of Christ. Those that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.’

And in a letter to Daniel Baker, Catharine said,

‘ The time is too little for me to disclose the twentieth part of the terrible trials ; but whensoever we were brought upon any trial, the Lord did take away all fear from us, and multiplied our strength, and gave us power and boldness to plead for the Truth of the Lord Jesus, and wisdom of words to stop the mouths of the gainsayers ; but then they would say, we had not the true faith, but we had all virtues. Dearly beloved, pray for us, that we fall not, nor fail ; whereby our enemies may have any advantage to rejoice, and say, we served a god that could not save us, and called upon a god that could not deliver us ; as if we were like them, to call upon stocks, stones, pictures, and painted walls, and dead things that cannot hear, see, nor speak. We do beseech thee to tell all our dear friends, fathers, and elders, the pillars of our spiritual building, with all the rest of our Christian brethren, that we do desire their prayers, for we have need of them.’

This letter they concluded with the following poem :

How strong and pow’rful is our King
To all that do believe in him !
He doth preserve them from the snare,
And teeth of those that would them tear.

We that are suff’ers for the seed,
Our hearts are wounded, and do bleed
To see th’ oppression, cruelty,
Of men that do thy Truth deny.

In prisons strong, and dungeons deep,
To God alone we cry and weep :
Our sorrows none can learn nor read,
But those that in our path do tread.

But he whose beauty shineth bright,
Who turneth darkness into light,
Makes cedars bow, and oaks to bend
To him that’s sent to the same end.

He is a fountain pure and clear,
His crystal streams run far and near,
To cleanse all those that come to him
For to be healed of their sin.

All them that patiently abide,
And never swerve nor go aside,
The Lord will free them out of all
Bondage, captivity, and thrall.

They composed several others, which fell into the hands of their enemies, and copies of them were given to the inquisitor. But now I leave them; and yet before I return to transactions in England, I shall relate a singular case of Daniel Baker, who being come to Smyrna, with intent to travel from thence to Constantinople, was stopped by the English consul, and sent to the Isle of Zante, where a ship lay bound for Venice, in which he embarked, and coming into that city, he staid there a week, and went from thence to Leghorn, with intent to take shipping there for England: but during his stay in that place, he inwardly felt drawings towards Malta, to try whether he could be helpful to Catharine and Sarah, that were prisoners there, since he had several times been stirred up thereto; and though the difficulty of the matters had kept him back, yet he could not have peace in his mind, before he gave himself up to that service; and so he embarked in a French ship for Sicily: and coming to Syracuse, he staid there five days, and then set sail for Malta; where being arrived, he got admitted to the pope's inquisitor, to whom he spoke in the Italian tongue on this wise: 'I am come to demand the just liberty of my innocent friends, the English women in prison in the inquisition.' The inquisitor asked him if he were related to them as husband or kinsman, and whether he came out of England on purpose with that message. To this Daniel answered, that he came from Leghorn for that same end. But the inquisitor told him they should abide in prison till they did, except some English merchants, or others that were able, would engage for the value of three or four thousand dollars, that they should never return into those parts. His request being thus denied, he went to the English consul, and spoke with him and several others: but all his endeavours proved vain; and he himself was threatened with the inquisition; and the pope's deputy would have had him bound, that he should neither speak good nor evil to any body, while he was on the island, save to him and the consul.

After a stay here of three weeks, he passed again to Italy, and from thence took shipping for England: but being come into the Straits of Gibraltar, he saw that the high mountain there, was the same place he had seen the foregoing year in a dream, when prisoner in Worcester gaol in England. Here the ship wherein he was, with several other vessels, lay about a month, because of the contrary wind, so that they could not set sail. In the meanwhile being under a burden, he perceived there was a

service for him ashore ; but, considering this to be dangerous, he wished to have been excused of it ; but felt no peace before he fully gave up, whatever either bonds or death might ensue. Whilst the fleet lay here wind-bound, divers ships attempted to pass through, but could not : and the like temptation attended him as that of Jonah, viz. to flee from the place, and so to escape the burden under which he laboured. But he found, as afterwards signified in a printed relation, that obedience was his duty, though it was required of him to be a sign against the idolatry of the church of Rome. He then told the master of the ship in which he was a passenger, something of the matter, and said that he believed that God would soon give opportunity for the fleet to pass away, after this service was performed. The master was hard to be persuaded to put him ashore, yet at length he suffered it, upon the day they used to call Maunday Thursday. Being now landed, he went to the town, and so into the mass-house, where he found the priest at the high altar, upon his knees, in his white surplice, adoring the host. After he had awhile been viewing this idolatry, he felt the indignation of God kindled in his heart against it : and turning his back upon the priest and his dead god, he set his face towards the people, and saw the multitude upon their knees also, worshipping they knew not what. In this posture, spreading forth his arms, he slipped off his upper garment, and rent it from top to bottom in divers pieces, which he cast from him with indignation : then he took his hat from off his head, as being the uppermost covering of man, and casting it down, stamped upon it with his feet, and appearing in sackcloth covering, he, with a loud voice, thrice sounded repentance, and said that the life of Christ and his saints was arisen from the dead. And so he passed away unmolested, sounding the same message with repentance through the streets, till he came to the sea-side, where he kneeled down to pray, and gave thanks to the Lord for his wonderful preservation, and that he had suffered no man to touch or do him any harm. Being on shore, he delivered a paper, written in the Spanish tongue, to the governor and inhabitants of Gibraltar, with some Latin books. That to the governor, &c. was as followeth :

‘ Behold, behold, the great day of God is come, and of his wrath, and of the wrath of his Lamb. The hour of his judgment is come. Wherefore, oh ! inhabitants of the earth, repent, repent, repent ! Fear God, and give glory and honour to him that made heaven and earth and the fountains of waters. Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth. John heard another voice from heaven saying, “ Come out of her my people, that ye partake not of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.” These are the words of the power of Christ, that is contrary to the false church. Behold, behold, plagues, plagues, plagues are

coming upon the church of Rome, and upon her heads in all parts of the world.'

Daniel being now come again on ship-board, the next day the Lord gave them a fair wind, and all the fleet set sail; and after some time he arrived safe in England. But being come to London, it was not long ere he, who had travelled without hurt in foreign parts, was imprisoned by his countrymen, as will be related hereafter: and being shut up in prison, he wrote a narrative of his travels, from which I took my relation.

About this time John Stubbs returned into England, having been in the dominions of the great Turk. But I do not find that he met with any singular occurrences, but that he had spread some books. He and Alexander Parker coming to London, found G. Fox there, with whom they travelled towards Bristol: by the way they had several meetings, and being come to Bristol, they understood that the officers were likely to come and disturb the meeting. Yet on the first-day of the week they went thither, and A. Parker stood up first to preach; but while he was speaking, the officers came and took him away. Then G. Fox stood up and preached undisturbed, so that the meeting ended peaceably. And he, staying in town that week, visited his friends, and was visited by them. The next first-day some of his friends came to him, and endeavoured to persuade him not to go to the meeting that day: 'For,' said they, 'the magistrates have threatened to take thee away, and that in order thereto, have raised the trained bands.' G. Fox desired them to go their way to the meeting, without telling them what he intended to do. Yet not long after he went thither: but being met by some of his friends, they did what they could to stop him; and, 'What,' said one, 'wilt thou go into the mouth of the beast?' 'wilt thou go into the mouth of the dragon?' said another. But G. Fox would not suffer himself to be thus prevented, but went on. Being come thither, he perceived a concern and fear upon his friends for him, but his preaching there was so powerful, that all fear departed from them; and having concluded his sermon with a prayer, he stood up again and told the auditory, now they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver: for the officers and soldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time; and they were in a great rage that they had missed him; for it was resolved on now to persecute the Quakers, and, if possible to root them out.

G. Fox, after having tarried yet some days at Bristol, went through Wiltshire and Berkshire, back again to London; yet he did not stay long there, but travelled towards Leicestershire, and passing by Barnet Hills, he found there one captain Brown, a Baptist, whose wife belonged to the society of those called Quakers.

This captain, for fear his wife should go to meetings and be cast into prison, had left his house at Barrow, and taken a place on the said hills, thinking himself more safe there. G. Fox going to see the wife, and being come into the house, asked him how he did; 'How I do!' said he, 'the plagues and vengeance of God are upon me, a runnagate, a Cain, as I am: God may look for a witness for me, and such as me; for if all were not more faithful than I, God would have no witness left in the earth.' In this condition Brown lived there on bread and water, and thought it too good for him; but at length he returned with his wife to his own house at Barrow, where he came to be convinced of the truth professed by those called Quakers, and died in it; and a little before his death, he said that though he had not borne a testimony for truth in his life, he would bear a testimony in his death; desiring to be buried in his orchard in a plain way.

But I return to G. Fox, who being come into Leicestershire, went to Swanington, to the house of a widow woman, where at night came one called the lord Beaumont, and a company of soldiers, who took him out of the hall where he was, and brought him to the said lord, who asked him his name: to which he answered, 'My name is George Fox, and I am well known by that name.' 'Aye,' said Beaumont, 'you are known all the world over.' Then he put his hands into George's pockets to search them, and pulled out his comb-case, and afterwards commanded one of the officers to search for letters: which made G. Fox say, that he was no letter-carrier, asking him why he came amongst a peaceable people with swords and pistols without a constable; since this was contrary to the king's proclamation; and it could not be said there was a meeting; for G. Fox had been talking in the hall only with the widow woman and her daughter. Beaumont sending then for the constables, gave them charge to watch G. Fox, and some that were with him, that night; accordingly the constables set a watch upon them, and next morning brought them to Beaumont's house, who then told them they met contrary to the act: for not long before this time the parliament by the instigation of the clergy, had made an act against conventicles, containing that if any were convicted of having been at a conventicle, they should incur a fine not exceeding five pounds, or imprisonment not above three months. G. Fox saying to the lord Beaumont, that he did not find them in a meeting, and so there was no transgression of the said act, Beaumont asked him, whether he would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: to which G. Fox answered, 'I never took any oath in all my life.' And desired him to show that oath, that they might see whether it was not for the discovery of popish recusants. But Beaumont being unwilling, caused a mittimus to be made, which mentioned that they were to have

had a meeting: a cunning artifice indeed to vex an innocent people. And with the mittimus he charged the constables to convey them to Leicester goal. The constable who was charged to bring G. Fox and his friends to prison, was loath to do it himself, and being harvest time, it was hard to get any body to go with them; and therefore they would have given them the mittimus to carry it themselves to the gaoler. This they refused, though sometimes some of their friends had done so: for the constables had such experience of their fidelity, that they durst trust them even in such a case, without fearing the bird would escape. Then the constable hired a poor man, who was loath to go with them on this errand. Yet they rode with him through the country, being five in number, and some carried their Bibles open in their hands, and passing through towns, they told people they were the prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ, going to suffer bonds for his name's sake. Being come to Leicester, and gone into an inn, the master of the house seemed somewhat troubled that they should go to prison; but they being unwilling to consult with lawyers, to which they were advised, suffered themselves to be had to prison; where being come, G. Fox asked whether the gaoler or his wife was master: and it was told him, 'The wife,' who though she was lame, and not able to go without crutches, yet would beat her husband when he came within her reach, if he did not do as she would have him.

G. Fox perceiving from this that without her leave he should not be able to agree with her husband, got somebody to bargain with her for a room, for him and his friends, and to leave it to them to give her what they would; to which she consented. But then it was told the prisoners, the gaoler would not suffer them to fetch any drink out of the town into the prison; but what beer they drank they must take it of him, and that, as was easily to be guessed, should be at a dear rate.

This made G. Fox say, he could remedy that; for since the gaoler could not deny them water, he would get a pail of it once a day, and put some wormwood into it, and that might serve their turn. So long as G. Fox was in prison there, he and his friends had a meeting every first-day of the week in the yard, to which came not only the debtors and felons that were prisoners, but also several people out of the town and country; whereby many were convinced of the truth he preached, and continued to be faithful witnesses for it.

Whilst G. Fox was confined there, several more of his friends were sent to prison, to the number of about twenty. And when the sessions came they were brought before the justices, who tendered to them the oath of allegiance and supremacy: for this was the ordinary snare, when no other thing could be found to lay hold on. But G. Fox told them he never took any oath in his life; 'And ye know we cannot swear because Christ and his

apostles forbade it, and therefore this is but as a snare to us : yet if we can prove that after Christ and his apostles forbade swearing, they ever did command Christians to swear, then we will take these oaths ; otherwise we are resolved to obey Christ's command, and the apostle's exhortation.' To this it was returned that they must take the oath to manifest their allegiance to the king. G. Fox, to show that he was not unfaithful to the king, told them, that formerly he had been sent up a prisoner by colonel Hacker, from that town to London, under pretence that he held meetings to plot for bringing in king Charles. Then he desired that their mittimus might be read, which set forth the cause of their commitment to be, that they were to have a meeting. And he said also, that the lord Beaumont could not by the act send them to gaol, unless they had been taken at a meeting ; and therefore he urged the reading of the mittimus, that it might be seen how wrongfully they were imprisoned. But whatever he said, they would not take notice of the mittimus, but called a jury, and indicted the prisoners for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. When the jury was sworn and instructed, as they were going out, one that had been an alderman spoke to them, and recommended them to have a good conscience : but one of the jury being a peevish man, told the justices there was one affronted the jury. Whereupon he was called up, and to try whether he was a Quaker, the oath was also tendered to him, and he took it ; and thus the snare intended against him did not hold.

Whilst the prisoners stood waiting, a cut-purse had put his hand into the pockets of some of them, which they told the justices of and showed them the man. They then called him up, and upon examination he could not deny the fact, yet they let him go free, just as if the robbing of those called Quakers was no crime.

It was not long before the jury returned, and brought the prisoners in guilty. And then the justices whispered together, and bade the gaoler take the prisoners and carry them back to gaol. But a little after they were in prison again, the gaoler came to them, and said, 'Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure that ye should all be set at liberty,' &c. Thus they were released on a sudden, which was indeed remarkable, because the jury had brought them in guilty ; on which passing of sentence must have followed. But G. Fox's liberty seems to have been owing to the following cause : he had a letter from the Lord Hastings, who having heard of his imprisonment, had written from London to the justices of the sessions to set him at liberty. This letter he had not as yet delivered to the justices, who perhaps had some knowledge of the said lord's mind from another hand, which made them resolve on this sudden discharge. G. Fox being now free, carried this letter to the lord Beaumont, who having opened

and read it, seemed somewhat troubled; and yet threatened him, if he had any more meetings at Swanington, he would disperse them, and send him to prison again. But notwithstanding these threatenings, he and his friends went to Swanington, and had a meeting there without being disturbed. From thence he travelled to London, where we will leave him, and in the meanwhile see what happened elsewhere.

Some time before, Thomas Goodair and Benjamin Staples were imprisoned at Oxford, and being brought into the court of judicature before sir William Walter, who sat there as judge, and Goodair being examined and nothing found against him, the oath of allegiance was tendered, to which he answered, that he acknowledged the king as supreme ruler in civil temporal matters, and that he was willing to obey him in all just commands. 'But,' said he, 'if king Charles and those who are in authority under him, enjoin me to any thing contrary to the command of Christ, then I will rather obey Christ than king Charles, or those in authority under him. It is for conscience-sake that I cannot swear, though I could gain the whole world thereby; for Christ hath forbidden it, and said, "Swear not at all;" and James saith, "Above all things swear not." But whatever Goodair said was in vain, for they would needs have him swear. He continuing to refuse swearing, justice Walter asked those that were with him on the bench, whether they had any thing to say against his passing sentence against them: to which they having said no, he spoke thus to Goodair, 'Hearken to your sentence: you are out of the king's protection. All your lands, real estate, and chattels, are forfeited, and shall be seized for the king's use: and you are to remain prisoner during the king's pleasure.' Then he bid the gaoler take Goodair away, who asked whether the gaoler had charge to fetter him; for he had been fettered as thieves and felons, before he had been brought into the court. Whereupon the judge answered, 'The gaoler may do with you what he will: for you are now out of the king's protection. Then he was led away, and B. Staples brought to the bar, to whom the oath being also tendered, and he refusing to take it, the same sentence was passed on him. Both being returned to prison, the gaoler said to the other prisoners that were there for evil or debts, 'If ye want coats, ye may take those of the Quakers, for they are now out of the protection of the law.' But one of the prisoners was so honest as to say he would rather go naked, than take away those mens' coats. How long they were in prison, and whether they died there, or were at last released, I know not *

* They both were supposed to be discharged at the next general gaol delivery: for T. Goodair in 1666, had been prisoner some years at Warwick, being præmunired without legal trial or judgment. At length he died at Selby in Yorkshire, 1693.—J. Whiting's Account.

But now I return to Ambrose Rigg, who being come to Hurst Pierpoint in Sussex, had a meeting there at the house of his father-in-law, captain Thomas Luxford; this so displeased the priest Leonard Letchford, that Rigg was taken and brought before the justices Walter Burrell, Nisell Rivers, and Richard Bridger, who being minded to bring him under sufferings, tendered him the oath of allegiance; and he, saying that for conscience-sake he could not swear, was forthwith sent to Horsham prison, and at the time of the assizes brought into the court, where judge Samuel Brown then sat, and passed the sentence of *præmunire* upon him. Then he was carried back, and by the instigation of the said Leonard Letchford, committed close prisoner, where he continued above ten years, and suffered during that time much hardship by the malice of the gaolers, since such prisoners as he was, are shut out of the king's protection. In the meanwhile the aforesaid priest Letchford summoned Rigg's wife for tithes, and she refusing payment, was also imprisoned at the prosecution of this priest; and then he seized her goods, taking away also that which her husband had earned in prison by his hand labour, not leaving him and his wife a bed to lie on; nay, he also took away a pot they had borrowed from other prisoners to boil victuals in, and vaunted he had Rigg so fast, that it was not in the king's power to release him. But notwithstanding this wicked boast, yet to his great disquiet and vexation, he lived to see Rigg released by the king under the great seal. And Thomas Luxford, A. Rigg's father-in-law, being also become one of the society of those called Quakers, and refusing to pay him tithes, felt likewise the effects of his fury; for he caused him also to be cast into gaol, where he kept him six years; and the prisoners being then released by the sheriff, he was excommunicated by Letchford, and afterwards at his suit, by virtue of the statute *De Excommunicatio capiendo*, shut up again in prison, from which he was set at liberty by an act of parliament.

Not long after, Letchford got a warrant to sue also some others of the Quakers, so called, belonging to his parish, for not paying tithes: but before he could get them imprisoned, it happened that having at night gone to bed healthy, in the morning he was found stiff dead in his bed, according to the testimony of his neighbours; and this prevented the stroke he had levelled against others.

Not being willing to finish this relation abruptly, I am advanced in time, but now I return to the year 1662. In the middle of this year, Sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, both vigorous champions against king Charles I., and having been in great authority under the former government, were brought to their trial. Vane behaved himself with very great

presence of mind: how far he was guilty I am not to inquire; but he was declared guilty, and afterwards beheaded on Tower-hill. He was reputed to be a man of great knowledge, having been one of the chief members of the long parliament, and also an opposer of Cromwell: for he was an entire republican, and had a great share in the administration of state affairs. Lambert, who had been an eminent general, saved his life: for since Vane, as Ludlow saith, pleaded for the lives and liberties of his country, and Lambert for his own, he evaded the storm which took away Vane. Lambert now, though condemned to death, begged mercy, and was confined to perpetual imprisonment, and carried to a small isle near Plymouth, where he finished his days.

Seeing on the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men, occasion was taking to make an act against plotting, and seditious meetings, the persecution against the Quakers increased, under a pretence that their meetings were dangerous, and to the terror of the king's subjects, and an act was made against those who refused to take an oath, as appeared by the title of it, viz.

‘ An act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others, refusing to take lawful oaths.

‘ Whereas of late times, certain persons under the name of Quakers, and other names of separation, have taken up, and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and (amongst others) that the taking of an oath, in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and the said persons do daily refuse to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens, that the truth is wholly suppressed, and the administration of justice much obstructed: and whereas the said persons, under a pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves in great numbers in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence amongst themselves, and in the mean time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesty's good and loyal subjects, and from the public congregations, and usual places of divine worship:

II. ‘ For the redressing therefore, and better preventing the many mischiefs and dangers that do, and may arise by such dangerous tenets, and such unlawful assemblies, (2) Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled in parliament, and by authority of the same, that if any person or persons, who maintain that the taking of an oath, in any case soever (although before a lawful magistrate) is alto-

gether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God, from and after the four-and-twentieth day of March, in this present year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and sixty-one, shall wilfully and obstinately refuse to take an oath, where by the laws of the realm he or she is, or shall be bound to take the same, being lawfully and duly tendered, (3) or shall endeavour to persuade any other person, to whom any such oath shall in like manner be duly and lawfully tendered, to refuse and forbear the taking of the same, (4) or shall by printing, writing, or otherwise, go about to maintain and defend that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, is altogether unlawful; (5) and if the said persons, commonly called Quakers, shall at any time after the said four-and-twentieth day of March, depart from the places of their several habitations, and assemble themselves to the number of five, or more, of the age of sixteen years, or upwards, at any one time, in any place, under pretence of joining in a religious worship, not authorized by the laws of this realm, (6) that then in all and every such cases, the party so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, for the first offence, such sum as shall be imposed upon him or her, not exceeding five pounds; (7) and if any person or persons, being once convicted of any such offence, shall again offend therein, and shall in form aforesaid be thereof lawfully convicted, shall for the second offence forfeit to the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, such sum as shall be imposed upon him or her, not exceeding ten pounds: (8) the said respective penalties to be levied by distress, and sale of the parties' goods so convicted, by warrant of the parties before whom they shall be so convicted, rendering the overplus to the owners, if any be: (9) and for want of such distress, or non-payment of the said penalty within one week after such conviction, that then the said parties so convicted shall for the first offence be committed to the common gaol, or house of correction, for the space of three months; and for the second offence during six months, without bail or mainprize, there to be kept to hard labour: (10) which said monies so to be levied, shall be paid to such person or persons, as shall be appointed by those before whom they shall be convicted, to be employed for the increase of the stock of the house of correction, to which they shall be committed, and providing materials to set them on work: (11) and if any person after he, in form aforesaid, hath been twice convict of any the said offences shall offend the third time, and be thereof, and in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, that then every person so offending, and convict, shall for his or her third offence, abjure the realm; or otherwise it shall and may be lawful to, and for his majesty, his heirs and

successors, to give order, and to cause him, her, or them, to be transported in any ship or ships, to any of his majesty's plantations beyond the seas.

III. 'And it is ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every justice of *oyer* and *terminer*, justices of assize, and gaol-delivery, and the justices of the peace, shall have full power and authority, in every of their open and general quarter-sessions, to enquire, hear, and determine all and every the said offences, within the limits of their commission to them directed, and to make process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any person being indicted before them of trespass, or lawfully convicted thereof.

IV. 'And be it also enacted, that it shall and may be lawful to, and for any justice of peace, mayor, or other chief officer, of any corporation, within their several jurisdictions, to commit to the common gaol, or bind over, with sufficient sureties to the quarter session, any person or persons offending in the premises, in order to his or their conviction aforesaid.

V. 'Provided always, and be it hereby further enacted, that if any of the said persons shall, after such conviction as aforesaid, take such oath or oaths, for which he or she stands committed, and also give security that he or she shall for the time to come forbear to meet in any such unlawful assembly as aforesaid, that then, and from thenceforth, such person and persons shall be discharged from all the penalties aforesaid : any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

VI. 'Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular lords of the parliament, for every third offence committed against the tenor of this act, shall be tried by their peers, and not otherwise.'

This act caused E. Burrough to write a small book, called 'The Case of the People called Quakers, stated, to show the falsehood of the accusations charged upon them.' First he showed in this treatise, that suppose the Quakers were heretics and erroneous people, which was never yet proved ; yet we found no examples in Scripture that such should be imprisoned, or afflicted with corporal punishments. Having treated of this matter at large, he laid down the state of their way of meeting and worship, appealing to others on this account, with these words :

'What judgment do our neighbours give in this case? They say, concerning our meetings, that they have known us to meet together in such manner, for divers years, in towns and villages, and never knew, nor understood of any harm or danger therein, nor ever were any way prejudiced, either in their persons or estates, in our meetings. The very witness of God in all our

neighbours does testify, and give judgment, that our meetings have always been peaceable and quiet, and that we come together in peace and good order, and part in the same, and no person hath been harmed by such our meetings; enquire of the neighbourhood, and they will tell you they believe in their consciences our meetings are for good, and have good effects, and are not evil, nor bring forth any evil to any.

‘ And as for the manner of our meeting and sitting together, it is orderly and decently, and of good report among men; and for any doctrine that ever was there held, or heard by any, none can truly accuse it to be either error, or heresy, or sedition; but on the contrary, they know it witnesseth against all sin and iniquity, and tends to the turning of people from ungodliness and unrighteousness to truth and holiness; and many can tell this is effected by our doctrine preached in our meetings; and our neighbours can witness that we part again in peace and good order, and in convenient time; and they can show you they are not terrified, nor the peace of the land disturbed (on our part) by our meetings, which are in God’s fear, and to the glory of his name, which all sober men know, are according to the law of God, and gospel, and primitive Christian example.

‘ We are accused as heinous offenders, and imprisoned, because it is supposed we do not submit to obey the known laws of the land, but break them, and will not conform to the church, pay tithes, take oaths, have no meetings together, &c. though we know the laws of the land command these things.

‘ Plea, first, as to submitting to all known laws of the land: this is known to God and our neighbours, that our principle and practice is, and ever hath been, to submit to every government, and to submit to all laws of men, either by doing or by suffering, as at this day we resist not the greatest of afflictions and tribulations that can be imposed on us; and this is well known to our neighbours and all people, that we are submissive to all laws of men, by patient suffering without resistance; even when any law requires any thing of us, which we cannot perform for conscience-sake, that law we fulfil by patient suffering, resisting no man, nor rendering evil for evil to any. And the judgment of the Scriptures, which are according to both law and gospel, and the precedents of saints justify us in this case, in choosing patiently to suffer the greatest penalties of the law, rather than to obey (by doing) any such law as requires things contrary to our pure consciences; as in the example of the three children, Dan. iii. who were commanded, to fall down and worship the golden image, at what time soever they heard the sound of the music, upon the penalty of being cast into the midst of the burn-

ing fiery furnace : which commandment they could not obey, nor could they fall down to worship the image ; but rather choosed to suffer the penalty of being cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace, which accordingly was done unto them. Again, in the case of Daniel, chap. vi. who was commanded to make no petition to any god or man for thirty days, save to king Darius, upon the penalty and affliction of being cast into the lion's den : but Daniel did rather choose to suffer the penalty, to be cast into the den of lions, than to obey the commandment ; and was cast into the lions' den. By these examples of holy men, with many more that might be given out of the Scriptures, it is evident, that righteous men will rather choose to suffer, than to obey any law of man contrary to their consciences. So the law of God, and example of saints, and Holy Scriptures, give judgment for us in this case, of rather choosing to suffer, than to obey laws contrary to our consciences ; and consequently must needs condemn such that persecute and imprison us, because they require obedience of us in things against our consciences.

Secondly. ' Though we disobey laws, and cannot actively obey every law of man, when it requireth and commandeth things contrary to a good conscience ; yet herein also are we justified, by the law of God, example of saints, and Holy Scriptures, and they give judgment for us, and consequently against our enemies in this case ; and in particular in the two examples before-mentioned in Daniel, the three children were expressly commanded to fall down and worship the golden image : and Daniel was also required by the king's decree, not to pray to any god or man, save to king Darius ; yet all these holy men of God did absolutely disobey the law and decree so requiring of them, and did contrary to the commandment : for the three children did not bow, nor Daniel cease to pray to God, but prayed as at other times, and yet were justified of God in so doing. Also the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ (Acts iv. 18) were commanded to preach no more in the name of Jesus ; but the apostles did disobey their commandment, and went on and preached in the Spirit and power of Christ, contrary to the commandment of the rulers, and appealed to them, whether it were not better to obey God than man. Many examples we might collect out of the Scriptures, that the servants of God did disobey the commands of kings and rulers, and could not obey (by doing) any command contrary to God, but rather chose to suffer afflictions, and death itself, than to obey such laws and decrees, as required any thing contrary to a pure conscience : and this is our case at this day ; we cannot obey (by doing) any thing against our consciences, but must break the laws of men, and disobey their commandments, rather than break the law of God, and sin against our own consciences, whatsoever we suffer because hereof ; and the examples of saints and Scriptures justify us in this behalf.

‘ And let our enemies cease to cry out, ‘ Rebellious and disobedient to laws and government ;’ for we are not such as do wilfully and obstinately disobey any laws of men, but for conscience-sake, and that we may not sin against God nor offend his witness in us ; therefore we cannot obey laws contrary to our consciences, whatsoever we suffer, which we resist not, nor rebel against any in this case : so that our principles and practices are to obey every law and government, either by doing or suffering. And though we disobey such laws as are not according to the law of God, and rather do choose to suffer, yet herein we are justified by the law of God, and the Holy Scriptures.

Thirdly. ‘ And as for our conversations among men, in respect of our daily walking and converse with them in our dealing, in respect of honesty and faithfulness, and truth and justness in works and words, our neighbours shall give witness for us. We will not justify ourselves, it is God that justifies us, and the law of God, gospel of Christ, Scriptures, examples of holy men, our neighbours, and the witness of God in all men’s consciences shall bear witness to us ; and all these do give judgment for us in these cases, to whom we do appeal for judgment. And, O Lord God everlasting, do thou judge our cause ; do thou make it manifest in thy due season to all the world, that we are thy people, that we love thee above all, that we fear thy name more than all ; that we love righteousness and hate iniquity ; and that we now suffer for thy holy name and truth, and for thy honour and justice, and for thy truth and holiness. O Lord, thou knowest we are resolved to perish, rather than to lose one grain hereof. Amen, Amen.

‘ Our accusations and answers truly compared, and weighed in the balance of justice and truth in every man’s conscience, let all the world judge of the case : do we deserve to be ruined, destroyed, imprisoned, and banished, and to be devoured of wild beasts, as our enemy threatens us he will do ? Is it so ? Are we heretics ? Are we seditious ? Are we drunkards ? Are we double dealers ? Are we such as the law of God condemns ? What evil have we done in the land ? Do we hurt any body ? Are we not innocent before the Lord and men ? We appeal to the just witness of God and men. Let it be answered ; and though no man will hear and consider our cause this day, yet the Lord will plead our cause in his time and season, and make the world to know, we are his people ; in the meantime we are willing to suffer the reproaches of ungodly men, till the Lord works deliverance in the earth.

‘ But now it may be objected by the magistrates and rulers,

that we have now a law against you, and you must suffer, for we cannot but put the law in execution, according to our oaths and offices; and it is not we that persecute you, but it is the law of the land by which you now suffer; and we cannot be blamed for your suffering, we only execute the law. And after this manner is the reasoning of some at this day,' &c.

Answer. 'To all which I do answer: It is true there is a law now enacted against us, which is pretendedly made the ground of our suffering; but whether that law be in itself just or unjust, I shall not now demonstrate, but shall leave it to the judgment of all Christian men that know us, our principles, doctrines, ways, and conversations, and let them judge whether we deserve the penalties and punishments therein described, for any principle or practice held and maintained by us. And though there be a law against us, yet the magistrates that are executors thereof, may execute the same with moderation or with violence; with discretion, or too much rigour; and it will be well for them to use moderation and discretion in this case: hereby may they save themselves from that weight of anger and indignation of the Lord God, that will come upon all violent doers, who seek to destroy the innocent, and rejoice in the occasion administered.

'And though this law be enacted against meetings, not ours I may say, but such meetings as are dangerous to the public peace, and to the terror of the people: but our meetings are not such, and therefore this law may not justly extend in its execution to the breaking up of our meetings, nor to banish us, because of our meeting together, which is for the worship of God, and are peaceable and of good report among all good men; and are not for disturbance of the peace, nor terror of the people, and therefore justly free from this law as aforesaid.

'And though this law is pretended against us, for to banish us, and to rid the land of us, as some vainly suppose; yet must it needs be executed to the height of it, without limitation or restriction? Must this law be executed to its height more than some other laws that are as truly enacted, and as fully in force as this act can be? Yet some such laws there are, which better deserve execution than this, yet they lie dormant, as is visibly apparent at this day, as in 4 Jac. c. 5, in these words: 'Be it enacted, &c. that all and every person or persons, which after forty days next following the end of this present session of parliament, shall be drunk, and of the same offence of drunkenness shall be lawfully convicted, shall for every such offence, forfeit and lose five shillings, &c. to be paid to the hands of the churchwardens of that parish where the offence shall be committed, who shall be accountable therefore to the use of the poor of the same parish. And if

the said person or persons so convicted, shall refuse or neglect to pay the said forfeiture, then the same shall be levied of the goods of every such person or persons, by warrant of precept from the court, judge, or justices, before whom the same conviction shall be ; and if the offender be not able to pay the sum of five shillings, then he shall be committed to the stocks for the space of six hours.' I pray you read the statute at large ; it is worth a sober man's pains to read over, and then judge whether that law be duly executed at this day : and also whether it deserves not more strict execution than the present act against us. Also the 1 Jac. c. 7, in these words : ' That all persons calling themselves scholars, going about begging ; all idle persons going about in any country, either begging or using any subtle craft, or unlawful games or plays, or feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, or pretending that they can tell fortunes, or such other like fantastical imaginations ; all fencers, bear-wards, common players of interludes, and minstrels wandering abroad, shall be taken, adjudged, and deemed as rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, and shall suffer such pains and punishments as are expressed, 39 Eliz. c. 4 ; viz, ' That every such person shall be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and shall be openly whipped, until his or her body be bloody, &c. and shall be forthwith sent from parish to parish,' &c. Read the statute at large, and then consider how duly it is executed now, and whether it deserves not the execution as much as the late act against us, though in some places the one is more executed than the other, where many of our friends being honest sober persons and of good conversation, yet are haled out of their meetings, where they are met only to worship God, and for no other end, and sent to prison, and persecuted to the very height of the said act ; whereas idle persons following unlawful games and plays, and bear-wards, common players of interludes and minstrels of divers kinds, do wander up and down city and country, and having their play-houses public, where their wickedness is acted ; such persons and such things, though appearing publicly, yet are permitted, and little or no notice taken of them by some of the magistrates, so as to punish them for breach of the laws, for the preventing of these evils ; but such wickedness is too much suffered, though there be divers acts of parliament against such persons and such actions, as well as there is one against our meetings ; yet the act against us is more put in execution in some places, for the breaking of our meetings, which are for the worship of God, than the good laws for suppressing wickedness, though there is better law for the one than for the other. Divers other laws and statutes made for good ends, for the suppressing of wickedness in the land there are, which are but easily executed at this day : but here is one act against peaceable meeting together for the worship of God, which is violently

prosecuted and executed upon innocent men; let all just men judge of these things. Though there be a law enacted against our meetings, so there is against drunkards and drunkenness, and unreasonable tippling in taverns and ale-houses, and against minstrels, fiddlers, pipers, and players, common players, and stage-players, that go up and down the countries, and have their play-houses in public cities; which statutes ought rather to be executed, though they are not: but these things we shall leave to all sober people to judge of.

‘And seeing that the law against us is more put in execution than these other laws, it doth appear that there is more envy against us and our peaceable religious meetings, than there is against profaneness, and wickedness, drunkenness, and stage-playing, and such like: and such magistrates wheresoever they are, are not excusable in the sight of God, though there is a law against us, while they prosecute it against us, and not these other good laws, against profane and ungodly persons and practices; and therefore seeing we do suffer, we must say it is not only because there is a law against us, but it is also, or rather, because there is enmity, and wrath, and wickedness in the hearts of men against us, which is the main cause of our sufferings at this day.’

Thus was E. Burrough always laborious, and like a faithful and diligent minister of Christ, he was so totally devoted to the service of God and the church, both in preaching and writing in the defence of the gospel, that he scarce reserved any time for himself, and seldom took rest, but continued to work incessantly till the time of his departure drew near; plainly manifesting that it really was his meat and drink to do the will of his heavenly Father; and this he endeavoured unweariedly to the end of his days.

Now I turn again to New England, where, though the murdering part was acted to the full, yet their blood-thirstiness was not quenched, as may appear from the following relation I shall give of the cruel whippings inflicted on some. If I should relate all of that kind that happened there, it would make up a pretty big volume by itself; and therefore I will mention some few instances only.

Among these I meet with Josiah Southick, (whose father and mother, Lawrence and Cassandra, had been of the first that were banished from Boston because of their religion, as hath been said before; and whose brother and sister had been ordered to be sold for bond slaves,) who, having been in Old England, and had found himself obliged, notwithstanding the severe law, to return to Boston, was sentenced to be whipped at a cart's tail, first at Boston, and then at Roxbury and Dedham, when with outstretched arms, he said to those who sentenced him, ‘Here is my body; if

ye want a further testimony of the Truth I profess, take it, and tear it to pieces; it is freely given up; and for your sentence, I matter it not:' adding further, 'it is no more terrifying unto me, than if ye had taken a feather and blown it up in the air, and had said, take heed it hurt thee not: for surely tongue cannot express nor declare the goodness and love of God to his suffering people.' Then he was stripped and tied to the cart's tail in Boston, where the hangman scourged him with what vehemency he could. It is remarkable that the whip used for those cruel executions, was not of whip-cord, as those in England, but of dried guts, and every string with three knots at the end, which being fastened to a stick, the hangman many times laid on with both his hands, which must cause violent torture to the body. But all this cruelty was not able to make Josiah faint; for as he was led through the streets of Boston at the cart's tail, he sung aloud, and was heard to utter these words: 'They that know God to be their strength, cannot fear what man can do.' The same day he was whipped also at Rocksbury, and the next morning, it being very cold, at Dedham, where he was discharged and turned into the wilderness: for so inhuman were these furious New England professors, that they seemed to think that whatever it was, there was nothing done amiss to the Quakers. Nay, it hath happened, that being shut up with thieves, and endeavouring to turn them from their wicked lives, they have been ill-treated on that account, and the thieves set at liberty, lest they should turn Quakers.

At Dover, in New England, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose were sentenced to very cruel whipping, only for being come there: the warrant was as followeth:

To the constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newberry, Rowley, Ipswich, Wennam, Linn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these vagabond Quakers are carried out of this jurisdiction.

'You, and every of you, are required in the king's majesty's name, to take these vagabond Quakers, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your several towns, to whip them upon their naked backs, not exceeding ten stripes a piece on each of them, in each town; and so to convey them from constable to constable, till they are out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your peril; and this shall be your warrant.

'Per me, Richard Walden.'

At Dover, dated December 22,
1662.

Cruel indeed was this order ; because to whip these three tender women through eleven towns, with ten stripes a piece at each place, through a length of near eighty miles, in bitter cold weather, would have been enough to have beaten their bones bare, and their lives out of their bodies.

Now in a very cold day the deputy Walden at Dover, caused these women to be stripped naked from the middle upward, and tied to a cart, and then whipped them, while the priest looked on, and laughed at it, which some of their friends seeing, and taking notice of Walden's cruelty, testified against him ; for which Walden put two of them in the stocks.

The women being thus whipped at Dover, were carried to Hampton, and there delivered to the constable, William Fifield, who having understood by the constable of Dover what work he had in bringing them through a deep road, thought to have daunted them, and said, ' I profess you must not think to make fools of men.' To which they answered, they should be able to deal with him as well as the other. This constable the next morning would have whipped them before day, but they refused, saying, that they were not ashamed of their sufferings. Then he would have whipped them on their clothes when he had them at the cart ; but they said, ' Set us free, or do according to thy order ;' which was to whip them on their naked backs. He then spoke to a woman to take off their clothes ; but she said she would not do it for all the world. ' Why,' said he, ' I profess I will do it myself.' So he stripped them, and then stood trembling with the whip in his hand, and so he did the execution, though at first he professed himself so stout. Then he carried them to Salisbury, through dirt and snow, half the leg deep, and here they were whipped again. Among the rest of the spectators, Edward Wharton accidentally passing along that way, came to be one ; and beholding this whipping, one Thomas Broadberry, clerk of the courts of Salisbury and Hampton, said to him, ' Edward Wharton, what do you here ?' ' I am here,' answered he, ' to see your wickedness and cruelty, that so if ye kill these women, I may be able to declare how ye murdered them ;' for indeed their bodies were so torn, that if Providence had not watched over them, they might have been in danger of their lives. But it fell out so that they were discharged : for the constable at Salisbury, who must have carried them to Newberry, was desired by one Walter Barefoot, to make him his deputy, who thus receiving the warrant set them at liberty ; though John Wheelwright, the priest, advised the constable to drive on, as his safest way.

These three women being thus unexpectedly released, went to New Quechawanah, where they had a meeting, and Shubal Drummer, the priest of the place, came also thither, and sat quiet. And the meeting being ended he stood up and said, ' Good

women, ye have spoken well, and prayed well; pray what is your rule?' They answering, 'The Spirit of God is our rule, and it ought to be thine, and all men's to walk by:' he replied, 'It is not my rule, nor I hope ever shall be.' A clear evidence how prejudice may bias even discreet people; for being prepossessed thereby, men will sometimes speak rashly, without considering what they say.

Not long after, these women returned to Dover to visit their friends; and being in a meeting the next first day of the week, the constables, Thomas Roberts, and his brother John, rushed in, and laid hands on Alice Ambrose, as she was in prayer, and taking her, one by the one arm, and the other by the other, they dragged her out of doors, almost a mile, with her face towards the snow, which was near knee-deep, over stumps and old trees, having put on their old clothes, on purpose not to dirty their better suits. They then locked her up in a certain house, and so went back to fetch Mary Tomkins, whom they dragged in the same manner, which their father, old Thomas Roberts seeing, lamented, and cried, 'Woe that ever I was father to such wicked children.' But they seemed not to matter what their father said, who had been a member of the church at Dover above twenty years; but because he no longer frequented their worship for their degeneracy, they took away his cow, which with its milk helped to support him and his wife. Mary Tomkins being brought into the house where Alice was, Anne Coleman was also fetched. Next morning they got a canoe, and threatened the women they would now do so with them, that they should be troubled with them no more; by which saying they seemed to signify that they would give them up to the mercy of the sea, which made the women unwilling to go to the water-side. Then one Edward Waymouth took Mary by the arms, and dragged her on her back over the stumps of trees, down a very steep hill, by which she was much bruised, and often fainted away. They also laid hold on Alice, whom they plucked violently into the water, and kept her swimming by the canoe, so that she was in danger of being drowned or frozen to death. Anne Coleman was also rudely dealt with, and all this in the presence of one Hateevil Nutwel, a ruling elder, who stirred up the constables to this wicked action, and so showed that he bore a wrong name. But the wicked intention of these men was stopped by a power from on high, for on a sudden a great tempest arose, so that they brought the women back again to the house, and about midnight they turned them all out of doors in the snow, the weather being so frosty that Alice's clothes were frozen like boards. How barbarously soever these women were treated, yet the Lord was pleased to preserve and support them.

Afterwards it happened that Anne Coleman and four of her

friends where whipped through Salem, Boston, and Dedham, by order of William Hawthorn, who before he was a magistrate, had opposed compulsion for conscience ; and when under the government of Cromwell it was proposed to make a law, that none should preach without license, he publicly said at Salem, that if ever such a law took place in New England, he should look upon it as one of the most abominable actions that was ever committed there, and that it would be as eminent a token of God's having forsaken New England, as any could be : and yet afterward this man became a fierce persecutor of those who asserted liberty of preaching : though formerly it may be, if any one had foretold him how he would be given to persecution, he would have said as Hazael to the prophet Elisha, ' What, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing ? ' But to return to Anne Coleman, when she was to be whipped at Dedham, and fastened to a cart, deputy Bellingham having seen Hawthorn's warrant, said, ' The warrant is firm ; ' and then bade the executioner go on ; who, thus encouraged, laid on so severely, that with the knot of the whip he split the nipple of her breast, which so tortured her, that it had almost cost her her life : and she, who was a little weakly woman, thinking this would have been her lot, said once, that if she should happen to die thus, she was willing that her body should be laid before Bellingham's door, with a charge from her mouth that he was guilty of her blood.

The usage Elizabeth Hooton met with, I cannot pass by in silence, because of her age, being about sixty, who hearing of the wickedness committed by those of New England, was moved to make a voyage to America.

In order thereto she went from England in the year 1661, having one Joan Broksup with her, a woman near as aged as herself, who freely resolved to be her companion : and because they could not find a master of a ship that was willing to carry them to New England, because of the fine for every Quaker that was brought thither, they set sail towards Virginia, where they met with a ketch which carried them part of the way, and then they went the rest by land, and so at length came to Boston. But there they could not soon find a place of reception, because of the penalty on those that received a Quaker into their houses. Yet at length a woman received them. Next day they went to the prison to visit their friends ; but the gaoler altogether unwilling to let them in, carried them to the governor Endicot, who with much scurrilous language called them witches, and asked Elizabeth what she came for : to which she answered, ' To do the will of Him that sent me.' And he demanding what was that : she replied, ' To warn thee of shedding any more innocent blood.' To which he returned that he would hang more yet ; but she told him he was in the hand of

the Lord, who could take him away first.* This so displeased him, that he sent them to prison, where many more of their friends were. After consultation what to do with them, they were carried two days' journey into the wilderness, among wolves and bears; but by Providence they got to Rhode Island, where they took ship for Barbadoes, and from thence to New England again, and so they returned to Boston. But then they were put into a ship, which carried them to Virginia, from whence Elizabeth departed to Old England, where she staid some time in her own habitation.

But it came upon her to visit New-England again; and so she did, taking her daughter Elizabeth along with her. And being arrived, those of the magistrates that were present, would have fined the master of the ship an hundred pounds, for bringing her over contrary to their law. But he telling them that Elizabeth had been with the king, and that she had liberty from him to come thither to buy her a house, this so puzzled these snarling persecutors, that they found themselves at a loss, and thus were stopped from seizing the master's goods.

Elizabeth being come to Boston, notwithstanding the rulers, went to them, and signified that she came thither to buy a house for herself to live in. She was four times at the court for that purpose, but it was denied her; and though she said that this denial would give her occasion, if she went to England again, to lay it before the king, it was in vain, and had no influence upon them.

Departing then, and passing through several places, she came to Cambridge, and was thrust into a stinking dungeon, where there was nothing to lie down or sit on. Here they kept her two days and two nights, without affording her any thing to eat or drink; and because a certain man in compassion brought her a little milk, he was also cast into prison, and fined five pounds. Being brought to the court, they ordered her to be sent out of their coasts, and to be whipped at three towns with ten stripes at each. So at Cambridge she was tied to the whipping-post, and lashed with ten stripes, with a three-stringed whip, with three knots at an end. At Water Town she had ten stripes more with willow rods; and to make up all, at Dedham, in a cold frosty morning, she received ten cruel lashes at a cart's tail. And being thus beaten and torn, she was put on horseback and carried many miles into the wilderness, and towards night they left her there, where were many wolves, bears, and other wild beasts, and many deep waters to pass through; but being preserved by an invisible hand, she came in the morning into a town called Rehoboth, being

* Which was fulfilled, for after that he never took away the lives of any more of those called Quakers.

neither weary nor faint : and from thence she went to Rhode Island, where coming to her friends, she gave thanks to God for having counted her worthy, and enabled her to suffer for his name's sake, beyond what her age and sex, morally speaking, could otherwise have borne.

After some stay there, she returned to Cambridge, about eighty miles, to fetch her linen and clothes, which the inhuman persecutors would not suffer her to take with her after they had whipped her. Having fetched these things, and going back with her daughter and Sarah Coleman, an ancient woman, she was taken up by the constable of Charleston, and carried prisoner to Cambridge ; where being asked by one of the magistrates, whose name was Daniel Goggin, wherefore she came thither, seeing they had warned her not to come there any more : she answered that she came not there of her own accord, but was forced thither, as she had been to fetch her clothes, which they would not let her take with her when she was whipped and sent away ; but that now returning back, she was taken up by force out of the highway, and carried thither. Then the other old woman was asked whether she owned Elizabeth and her religion : to which she answered, she owned the Truth. And of Elizabeth's daughter he demanded, ' Dost thou own thy mother's religion ? ' To which she was silent : and yet they were sent to the house of correction, with order to be whipped. Next morning the executioner came betimes before it was light, and asked them whether they would be whipped there : which made Elizabeth ask, whether he was come to take away their blood in the dark : and whether they were ashamed that their deeds should be seen : but not heeding what she said, he took her down stairs, and whipped her with a three-stringed whip. Then he brought down the ancient woman, and did the like to her. And taking Elizabeth's daughter he gave the like to her also, who never was there before, nor had said or done any thing. After this Elizabeth the mother was whipped again at a cart's tail at Boston and other places, where she came to see her friends : since which I have several times seen her in England in a good condition.

I could relate many more severities of the New England persecutors ; but I long to come to an end, and therefore shall make a large step, and outrun some space of time.

In the year 1664, it happened that Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose came again to Boston, having been in Virginia, where for their religion they had not only been pilloried, but whipped also each of them with thirty-two stripes, with a whip of nine cords, and every cord with three knots ; and they were handled so severely, that the very first lash drew blood, and made it run down from their breasts. Being afterwards arrived at Boston, Mary grew so sick that she was thought to be near death ; which made

Edward Wharton with Wenlock Christison come from Salem to visit her. But after they had been there a little time, two constables came in, and notwithstanding Mary's weak condition, forced them all to the governor's house. Now though Mary seemed to be a little on the mending hand, yet she was so ill, that she fell down as it were dead in the way. But one of the constables staid with her till she came to herself again, and then brought her before the governor, where was also deputy Bellingham and Thomas Daurfort, one of the magistrates; who ordered all four of them to be whipped; but because Mary was so weak, and lest probably she might die under their hands, they gave order that she and Alice should not be whipped at Boston, but at the towns beyond. And this was to have been executed, but that colonel Temple coming in, interceded and prevailed for three of them. And now Edward became the mark of their fury, on whom they vented their passion, though they had nothing to charge him with, but that he was come from Salem to Boston to visit his sick friend; and for this pretended crime the following warrant was framed:

To the constables of Boston, Charleston, Malden, and Lynn.

'You are required to take into your custody respectively Edward Wharton, convicted of being a vagabond, from his own dwelling-place; and the constable of Boston is to whip him severely with thirty stripes on his naked body. And from constable to constable you are required to convey him until he come to Salem, the place where he saith he dwelleth: and in so doing this shall be your warrant.

'John Endicot.'

Dated at Boston, 20th of June, 1664.

Pursuant to this warrant, Edward, (who therein was called a vagabond, for no other reason but that he was gone from his dwelling-place,) was led away to the market-place, and there being stripped, his arms were bound to the wheel of a great gun. Then the constable John Loel, bade the hangman to do his work severely; which he did so cruelly that it was testified peas might lie in the holes that the knots of the whip had made in the flesh of his arms and back. And his body was swelled and very black from the waist upwards. Such was the doing of those, who to enjoy the free exercise of their worship, had left Old England; and thus they treated a man that was of good repute, and had lived in that country above twenty years; and was once by the governor himself acknowledged to be his friend, when he supplied him with necessaries in his want, saying then, that if ever it lay in his power he would requite them; which now he did, but in what an

inhuman and barbarous manner ! That this governor Endicot once had been a man of but a mean condition, appears from a letter written to him shortly after the death of Mary Dyar, by one John Smith, because he had not only caused his wife to be whipped severely, but had also kept her prisoner a whole winter, separate from her children, and had been assisting in the making of an order that no man or woman should bring any thing to the imprisoned Quakers, or carry any thing from them, upon the penalty of five pounds for the first time, and ten pounds for the second. In this letter John Smith said :

‘ O my spirit is grieved for thee, because that the love I did once see in thee is departed from thee, and there remaineth in thee a spirit of cruelty, of hard-heartedness to thy poor neighbours, which thou has formerly been much beholden to, and helped by, in time of want, when thou hadst no bread to eat. O consider of these times, and forget them not, and of the love thou didst find among poor people in thy necessity, and how evil thou hast dealt with, and requited some of them now ; and how thou dost walk and act contrary to what thou didst formerly profess : yea, I have heard thee say that all the armies on earth cannot subdue one lust in man or woman. And now thou pronouncest sentence of death upon some, because they cannot submit to your wills, nor worship as ye do.’

But I return to Edward Wharton, who after his whipping was not led the direct way to Salem, but by Charleston, and so about the country, as if they had a mind to make a show of him : yet at Charleston the constable was so compassionate, that he entertained him in his house, and anointed his stripes ; and the next day he was conveyed to his home. Since that time the said Wharton was whipped again severely ; but I pass by particulars to avoid prolixity. Yet I cannot forbear to say, that before he was whipped at Boston, as hath been said, it was told him that if he would promise the governor to come no more to the Quakers’ meeting at Boston, then it was likely the governor would let him have his liberty : to which Edward returned, ‘ Not for all the world. And, friends, I have a back to lend to the smiter, and I have felt your cruel whippings before now, and the Lord hath made me able to bear them ; and as I abide in his fear, I need not fear what you shall be suffered to do unto me.’

The case of one Anne Needham being also very remarkable, I will give a short hint of it. She was fined at Boston for being one of those called Quakers ; but her husband refusing to pay the fine, asking them, seeing the law for adultery was death, whether

if his wife had committed adultery, he must by that law have suffered death. She then was sentenced to be whipped, which the constable Thomas Roots performed with great cruelty; for seeing she kept silent whilst he lashed her, he did whatever he could, with his tormenting whip, to make her cry out; but all his endeavours proved in vain; which made him say that the Quakers were a hard-hearted people: though this epithet much better fitted himself, and all those cruel persecutors that were really become hard-hearted to the highest degree, insomuch that they had not only shaken off humanity, but all true sense of piety, which I shall prove by instances whereof some are even blasphemous.

One Barlow, who formerly had been a preacher at Exeter, afterwards turned lawyer, and at length being become a marshal, would boast that when he went to distrain for fines, he would think what goods were most serviceable to the Quakers, and then he would take them away. By such doings he encouraged others to vice; for a certain Indian taking a knife from an Englishman's house, and being told he should not steal, answered that he himself had thought so, but now he saw that Barlow and the magistrates did so by the Quakers. This Barlow in the days of Cromwell being grown rich with the spoils of the innocent, grew poor after king Charles was restored; which made Barlow say that he hoped for a good time again, and took the shameful liberty to add, he thought the Quakers would not let him want.

At Hampton, priest Seaborn Cotton, understanding that one Eliakim Wardel had entertained Wenlock Christison, went with some of his herd to Eliakim's house, having like a sturdy herd's-man put himself at the head of his followers, with a truncheon in his hand. Wenlock seeing him in this posture, asked him what he did with that club: to which he answered, he came to keep the wolves from his sheep. Wenlock then asking whether those he led were his sheep, got no answer, but instead thereof was led away by this crew to Salisbury. This same Cotton having heard that major Shapleigh was become a Quaker, said he was sorry for it, but he would endeavour to convert him. And afterwards drinking in a house in an isle in the river Piscatoway, and hearing the major was there in a warehouse, he went thither; but going up stairs, and being in drink, he tumbled down, and got such a heavy fall, that the major himself came to help this drunken converter.

When Edward Wharton was told once by governor Endicot, that every soul ought to be subject to the higher power; he thereupon asked whether that which set up the golden image, and required all to fall down and worship it, was the higher power: he answered, 'Yea.' Then Edward queried whether the power that required Daniel to be cast into the lion's

den, for praying to any besides the king for thirty days, was the higher power; the governor said, 'Yea.' The next question Edward asked was, whether the three children that were cast into the fiery furnace for not falling down to, and worshipping the golden image, did well: and whether Daniel for praying to his God contrary to what the said higher power did command, did well: the governor replied, 'Yea,' also. But secretary Rawson seeing how the governor had talked himself into a noose, to help him out said, they did obey the higher power by suffering: to which Edward returned, 'So do we too.'

Another of these magistrates whose name was Brian Pembleton, was asked by George Walton and his wife Alice, who was reputed one of the most godly women thereabout, what the anointing was which the apostle John exhorted the saints unto in that day: but what a wicked man this Pembleton was, may appear by the abominable answer he gave, viz. that John was either a fool or a madman, or else he did not know what he said. And blasphemous in a very high degree was what he said to the question, 'What was that light which shone about Paul?' For his answer was, it was the light of the devil for aught he did know.

Joshua Scotaway, also one of the magistrates, asked Mary Tomkins in the court at Boston, where she dwelt: to which she answered in the words of the apostle, 'In God: for in him we live and move, and have a being.' To which Scotaway did not stick to say, 'So doth every dog and cat.' No wonder truly, that men thus darkened in their minds, grew also quite hardened in persecuting, so as to glory in it; as did Thomas Daufort a magistrate of Cambridge, who in the governor's house at Boston, laying his hand on Wenlock Christison's shoulder, said to him, 'Wenlock, I am a mortal man, and die I must, and that ere long; and I must appear at the tribunal-seat of Christ, and must give an account of my deeds done in the body; and I believe it will be my greatest glory in that day, that I have given my vote for thee to be soundly whipped at this time.' This made Wenlock say, 'O wicked man, if thou hast nothing to glory in at that day, but in drawing the blood of the innocent, and in laying stripes upon the servants of the living God, thy glory will be turned into shame, and woe will be thy portion.'

But no exhortation, how extraordinary soever, seemed to take any hold on these persecutors: for once a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, called Hannah Wright, whose sister had been banished for religion, was stirred with such zeal, that coming from Long Island, some hundreds of miles from Boston, into that bloody town, she appeared in the court there, and warned the magistrates to spill no more innocent blood. This saying so struck them at first, that they all sat silent; till Rawson the

secretary said, 'What, shall we be baffled by such a one as this; come, let us drink a dram.'

Here we see the religion of these men, who were once so precise that they would not join with the worship of the church of England. But it seems not improbable that they fell away to this hardness of heart, because being convinced in their understandings of some superstitious ceremonies that were yet remaining in the church of England, they were not faithful to testify against those things, and to set their light on the candlestick; but that to shun the cross and avoid sufferings, they chose to go into a strange country. And yet they were so presumptuous as to say they were the purest church on earth, and their magistrates and preachers very godly men, and it may be some of their cruel executioners seeing how their magistrates (as hath been said of Thomas Daufort) did glory in cruelty, have been foolish enough to persuade themselves that their excessive whipping was some kind of meritorious work. But whatever these English people thought, they were worse than others, for in some places of America lived also Swedes, who in regard of their worship were no less despised by the English, than of the old Samaritans by the Jews; and yet these Swedes entertained the Quakers when they came amongst them, far better than the English did: and thus they made it appear that they surpassed them in life, if not in profession. But the precise New England men seemed to place great virtue in a sturdy severity, of which the following is an instance.

A Dutchman, an Ostender, whose name was John Lawrence, was committed for adultery, and brought before the court at Boston, where the governor John Endicot, asked him whether he was guilty or not guilty: to which the prisoner, who it seems spoke but bad English, said, 'No guilt.' On which Endicot said in a scoffing manner, 'No gelt; there's no money:' for gheld signifies money in Dutch. Thus the Dutchman's words and meaning were scoffingly perverted; and though there was no clear evidence against him, yet he was condemned to be hanged; but he denying the fact, the execution was deferred; and in the meanwhile the priests, John Wilson and James Mayo, came to him in prison to see what they could get out of him: and Mayo told him his time was near at an end, and that he must shortly die; and therefore he would have him now to confess. To which the prisoner returned, 'What will you have me to confess that which I never did?' But Mayo did not desist, but said, 'Confess my son, and give glory to God.' Yet the prisoner continued in denying the charge, and affirmed he was clear. But, said the priest, 'You cannot be clear; for our Lord and Saviour saith, "Whosoever looketh upon a fair woman, and lusteth after her, he hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."' Truly

a very perverse use of the Scripture for compassing a false end. But the Dutchman seeing how they came to betray him, was cautious, and at length, after a long and tedious imprisonment, found means to break prison, and thus escaped from those who grew accustomed to be merciless : so that sometimes others as well as Quakers, felt the weight of their severity.

It happened about the time that William Leddra was put to death, that one Elizabeth Nicholson and her two sons, Christopher and Joseph, were charged with the death of her husband and their father Edmund Nicholson, who was found dead in the sea ; and information being given that these people did show love to those they called cursed Quakers, they were all three fetched from their habitation at Salem and carried to Boston, and were tried for their lives merely on suspicion ; but nothing of murder was proved against them ; yet the mother was fined a great sum, and her two sons were sentenced to stand under the gallows certain hours with ropes about their necks, and to be whipped in the market-place, which was performed accordingly. And because these young men were not daunted, priest Wilson standing by, said, ‘ Ah, cursed generation ! ’ And at Salem they were whipped also, which was done so mercilessly that one of the young men sunk down, or died away under the torture, though he was raised up and came to life again.

By this we may see how these New England persecutors were become inured to excessive severity. But before I leave them, I must also mention the dreadful exit of some of them.

The last act that occurs, of governor Endicot’s bloody part was the cruel whipping of Edward Wharton at Boston, related before ; for the time was now come that he must go off the stage, to give an account of his extravagant severity before another tribunal than that of his sanguinary court. The measure of his iniquity was now filled up, and he was visited by a loathsome disease, insomuch that he stunk alive, and so died with rotteness, his name being like to give a bad savour through ages to come.

Yet more remarkable was the death of major general Adderton, who when Mary Dyar was hanged, said scoffingly, and in an insulting way, that she hung as a flag, for others to take example by ; and who also, when Wenlock Christison (being condemned to death) warned the persecutors because of the righteous judgments of God, presumptuously said, ‘ You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments ; but the judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us as yet.’ But how he himself was struck by these judgments, and served for example to others, we are to see now.

He, upon a certain day, having exercised his soldiers, and

riding proudly on his horse towards his house, when he came about the place where usually they loosed the Quakers so called, from the cart, after they had whipped them, a cow came and crossed the way, at which his horse taking a fright, threw him down so violently, that he died, his eyes being started out of his head, his brains out of his nose, his tongue out of his mouth, and his blood out of his ears. Thus God's judgments came upon him suddenly and unawares.

And John Norton, the chief priest of Boston, died likewise on a sudden. It was he who promoted the putting to death of those martyrs that died at Boston, as hath been related; and when he saw that the magistrates paused upon the execution of W. Robinson and M. Stevenson, he encouraged them thereto, especially because John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, earnestly dissuaded the shedding of innocent blood. He it was also, who when William Brend was beaten so barbarously with a rope, as hath been related in its due place, did not stick to say, since William Brend endeavoured to beat their gospel ordinances black and blue, it was but just upon him if he was beaten black and blue also. But this Norton was now struck with a blow that made him sink: for having been at his worship-house in the forenoon, and intending to go in the afternoon, as he was walking in his house he fetched a great groan, and leaning his head against the mantel-piece of the chimney, he was heard to say, 'The hand, or the judgments of the Lord are upon me.' These were his last words, and he sunk down, and had fallen into the fire if he had not been caught by somebody that was present. More examples of this nature I could produce, but these may suffice.

What I have related of these cruelties and much more, was published in print about that time, that so the king and parliament of England might know what happened there; for those actions were come in public view, and known there all about the country. All that they did was to set a false colour upon their severity, and to disguise matters: and it was their happiness that they had not to do with revengeful people, else they might have been involved in great straits: the friends of the persecuted committed vengeance to God, though some of the great ones in England advised them to sue the persecutors, which according to law they might have done.

Richard Bellingham, a fierce persecutor, and governor after John Endicot, went distracted ten years after, and so died. Not long before, William Coddington, governor of Rhode Island, wrote a letter to him, wherein he put him in mind of the former times; for he (the same Coddington) had been one of the first erectors of colonies in New England, and the first that built a house at Boston, and afterwards was a magistrate seven years,

but when persecution arose he declared against it ; and the case was debated three days in the court, but the moderate party was the weakest, and was opposed by all the priests, except one John Cotton, who said he remembered how at their departure from England he had preached on Acts iv. 11, and had showed from that text that there was an inward grace which was to be minded, and that therefore he would not give his vote for persecuting the asserters of that doctrine ; showing thereby much more sense of religion than the other persecuting priests. Now though Coddington was one of the greatest merchants or traders in that country, and in all probability might have acquired great riches there, yet seeing his good counsel was not hearkened to, he resolved to depart that place, and to go and live somewhere else. But whatever he said in his letter to Bellingham, this man remained hardened like Pharaoh, having showed himself cruel, even when Mary Fisher and Anne Austin first came to Boston, where he treated them in a barbarous manner.

Yet one thing remarkable I may mention here, which when I first heard, I could not fully give credit to ; but thinking it worth the while to make a narrow inquiry into it, I did so, not only by writing, but also from the mouths of persons that had been eye-witnesses, or had been informed by such ; and from these I got this concurring observation ; viz. that the country about Boston was formerly a very fruitful soil that produced excellent wheat : but that since the time this town had been stained with the blood of the Quakers, so called, no wheat, &c. would grow to perfection within twenty miles, though the ground had been ploughed and sown several times ; for sometimes what was sown was spoiled by vermin or insects ; at other times it grew up, but scarce yielded more than was sown, and so could not countervail the charge ; and in another year the expected harvest was quashed by another accident ; and these disappointments continuing many years, the people at length grew weary of making further trial, and so left the ground untilled ; notwithstanding that twenty miles off from Boston the soil is fruitful, and yields very good corn. But there having been so many reiterated instances of unfruitfulness nearer the town, ancient people that are alive still, and remember the first times, generally agree in their opinion that this is a judgment from heaven, and a curse on the land, because of the shedding of innocent blood at Boston. This relation I had from so many credible persons (though the one knew nothing of the other, as differing much in time) yet what they told me did so well agree in the main, that I could not but believe it, though I do not use to be credulous ; and therefore I have been the more exact in my inquiry, so that I can no longer question the case ; but it seems to me as a punishment on that blood-thirstiness which now hath ceased long ago.

In the island of Barbadoes those called Quakers suffered also much by the people, instigated not a little by the priests, Samuel Graves, Matthew Gray, Thomas Manwaring, and Francis Smith ; for these being often drunk, gave occasion thereby to be reprov'd; and one Thomas Clark coming once into the place of public worship, and exhorting the auditors to desist from lewdness and to fear God, was so grievously beaten with sticks, that he fell down in a swoon ; and Graves who had preached then, went to the house of the said Clark, pulled his wife out of doors, and tore her clothes from her back. And Manwaring, who had threatened Clark that he would procure a law to be made, by which his ears should be cut off, once wrote in a letter to him, ' I am sorry that your zeal surpasseth your moderation, and that a club must beat out of you what the devil hath inspired.' And this was because Clark had told him that his conversation was not becoming a minister of the gospel. Other rough treatment Clark met with I pass by, though once he was set in the stocks and imprisoned. But now I leave America, and return to England.

END OF VOL. I.

In the island of Barbadoes these called Quakers suffered also much by the people, investigated not a little by the priests, Samuel Gorton, Matthew Gorton, (I think) and Thomas Smith; for these being often drunk, gave occasion thereby to be reproved; and one Thomas Clark coming once into the place of public worship, and exhorting the auditors to desert from lawlessness and to fear God, was so grievously treated with sticks, that he fell down in a swoon; and others who had purchased them, went to the house of the said Clark, pulled his wife out of doors, and tore her clothes from her back, and Alanway, who had threatened Clark that he would present a law to the judges, by which his ears should be cut off, was in a better to him, and that I am sorry that your great enterprise was not undertaken, and that a club must have been out of you, what the devil hath inspired. And this was because Clark had told him that his conversation was not becoming a minister of the gospel, or other rough treatment. Clark met with I dare say, though I am not in the stocks and imprisoned. But now I have a letter, and return to Kingston, and you shall hear all that I have to say. I am sorry that your great enterprise was not undertaken, and that a club must have been out of you, what the devil hath inspired. And this was because Clark had told him that his conversation was not becoming a minister of the gospel, or other rough treatment. Clark met with I dare say, though I am not in the stocks and imprisoned. But now I have a letter, and return to Kingston, and you shall hear all that I have to say.

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

By referring to page 190 of this volume, it will be observed that the author, in giving a paper written by JAMES NAYLER, has omitted the part that immediately precedes the conclusion of it.

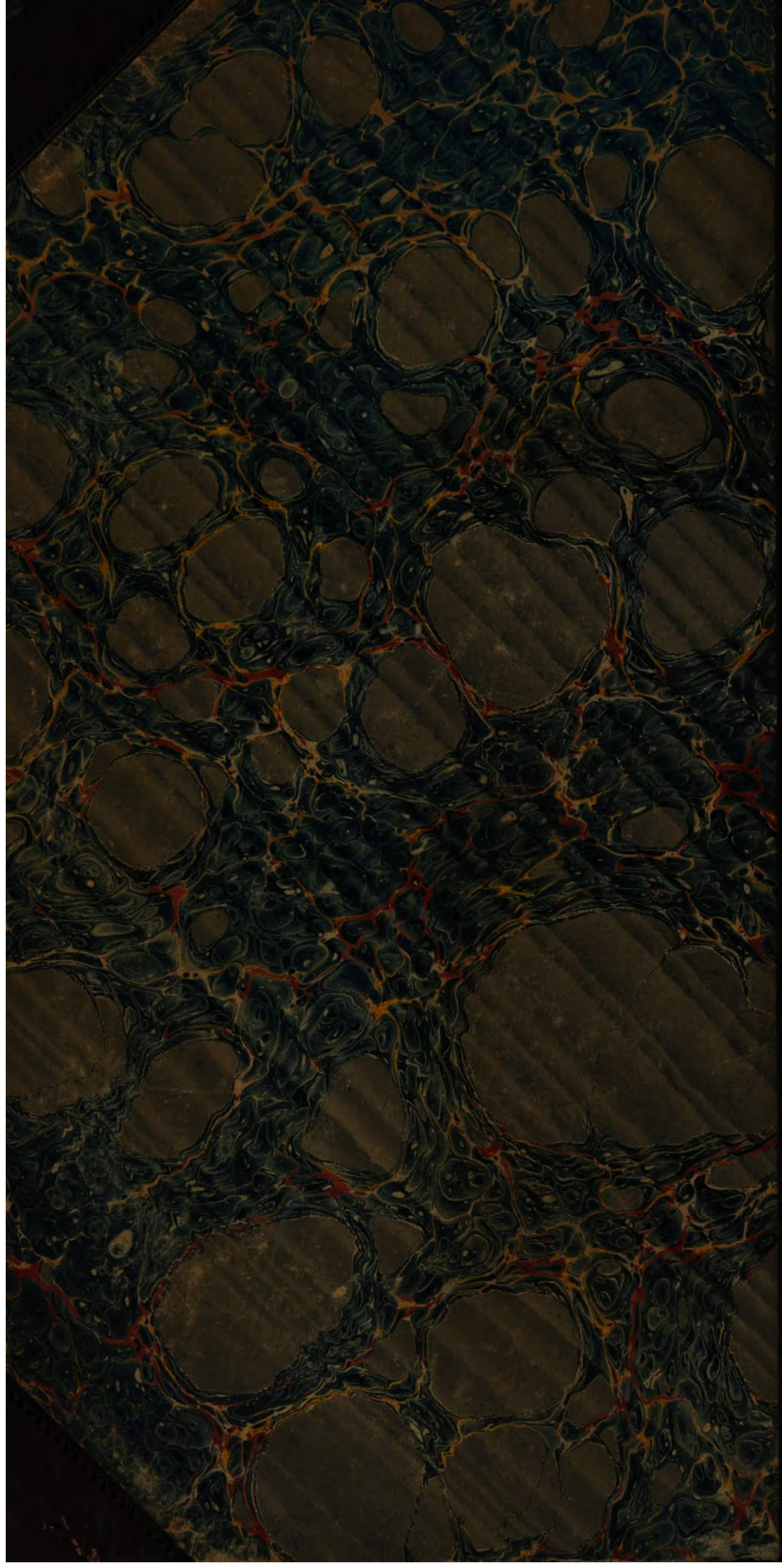
This, which it is now thought proper to supply, is as follows :

‘ AND this further is given me to say to every particular person, to whom this writing shall come, Whatever is thy condition, wait in the light which lets thee see it; there is thy counsel and thy strength to be received, to stay thee, and to recover thee. Art thou tempted to sin? Abide in that which lets thee see it, that there thou mayest come to feed on the right body, and not on the temptation; for if thou mindest the temptation it will overcome thee, but in the light is salvation. Or, having sinned, art thou tempted to despair, or to destroy thyself? Mind not the temptation, for it is death that sin hath brought forth; feed not on it, nor mind it, lest thou eatest condemnation; for that is the wrong body. The body of Christ is felt in the light, in which is life from death, grace, and truth to feed on, which being followed will overcome for thee; but if thou followest the temptation, fear and condemnation will swallow thee up. If there appear to thee voices, visions, and revelations, feed not thereon, but abide in the light and feel the body of Christ, and there wilt thou receive faith and power to judge of every appearance and spirits, the good to hold fast and obey, and the false to resist. Art thou in darkness? mind it not; for if thou dost, it will fill thee more; but stand still and act not, and wait in patience till light arise out of darkness to lead thee. Art thou wounded in conscience? Feed not there, but abide in the light, which leads to the grace and truth,

which teaches to deny and put off the weight, and removes the cause, and brings saving health to light ; yea, this I say to thee in the name of Jesus Christ, that though thou hast made thy grave as deep as the nethermost hell, or were thy afflictions as great as Job's, and thy darkness as the depth of the sea, yet if thou wilt not run to vain helps, as I have done, but stay upon the Lord, till he give thee light by his word, (who commands light to shine out of darknes,) from thence will he bring thee forth, and his eye shall guide thee, and thou shalt praise his name, as I do this day, glory for evermore ! And this word is nigh thee which must give thee light, though darkness comprehends it not. And hadst thou gifts, revelations, knowledge, wisdom, or whatever thou canst read of in the Scriptures of Truth, and dost not abide in the light, and feed on the body of Christ, whence the gifts spring, but feed on the gift, thou mayest be up for a while in thy own sight, but certainly thou wilt wither and die to God, and darkness will come upon thee, and thy food will turn to thy condemnation in the sight of God.'

Nayler's Works, page 55.





Sewel, Willem

The history of the rise, increase and progress of the Christian people
called Quakers

Bd.: 1

London 1834

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek -- Th H 1953 -1
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11286872-1